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The Catholic University Bulletin.

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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THE ODE STRUCTURE OF COVENTRY PATMORE.

The "Odes" of Coventry Patmore are so well known to students of metres and to the lovers of what is called the mystic quality in poetry, that they may be considered in the interest of both with unfailing profit. They owe much of their essence to St. Teresa and to St. John, and all that attracts the lovers of the science of poetic form to the force of this essence exerted to find adequate expression. It may be said that the practice adopted by Mr. Patmore is, like the later musical forms of Wagner, not a sign of regular progress, but a vagary, or a mere diversion from the regular track of progress. For instance, what apparently answers in music to verbal rhyme is easily discovered in the scores of Haydn and Mozart; the absence of this is noticeable in Beethoven and Wagner. In verse the continual rhyme, accompanied by the regular cæsura, is a distinguishing characteristic of Pope and Scott;—Patmore accepts the rhyme and the cæsura, but, in his noblest poems, uses them irregularly, or rather spontaneously by making the pause depend on feeling and the rhyme on the emphasis of accent. The practice of Patmore is a sign of a finer conception of the clothing of poetry. Whether the changes in the musical forms be more than a vagary, I am not enough of a musician to know, but as to metres, I believe that Patmore's variations from classical English verse form indicate that the

poetry of the twentieth century will achieve the expression of subtler meanings than the poetry of any preceding era. The change in Patmore's methods is evident only in the poems which to the refined sense of the world are beginning to be "great."

In these poems he feels rather than knows that finish and tone melody and harmony may be best reached by minimizing rhyme, which is often used "to cover a multitude of sins of harmony." In writing unrhymed verse, "the poet has to depend upon the melodious movement of the individual verses, pause-melody, and the general harmony of toning." Students, theoretical and practical, of the science and art of verse know that it requires all the forces of a poet to sustain himself without rhyme,—"which to the unskillful is often a veritable life-preserver, and the only power which keeps much unpoetical stuff afloat."[1]

There is a prejudice against the "domestic" poetry of Coventry Patmore in that class of minds which cannot tolerate even Wordsworth when he aims for simplicity and achieves simpleness. And yet there are many who love "The Angel in the House," and who find no fault with the jingling rhymes of "The Rosy Bosom'd Hours,"— the story of a wedding journey:

"At Dawlish, 'mid the pools of brine,
You stept from rock to rock,
One hand quick tightening upon mine,
One holding up your frock.

"On starfish and on weeds alone
You seemed intent to be,
Flashed those great gleams of hope unknown
From you, or from the sea?

"Ne'er came before, ah, when again
Shall come two days like these,
Such quick delight within the brain,
Within the heart such peace?

"I thought, indeed, by magic chance,
A third from heaven to win,
But as, at dusk, we reached Penzance,
A drizzling rain set in."

[1] Dr. Corson: Primer of English Verse. Ginn & Co.

There are some, too, not appalled by the close of "The Girl of All Periods":

> "And Ben began to talk with her, the rather
> Because he found out that he knew her father,
> Sir Francis Applegarth, of Fenny Compton,
> And danced once with her sister, Maud, at Brompton;
> And then he stared until he quite confused her,
> More pleased with her than I, who but excused her;
> And, when she got out, he, with sheepish glances,
> Said he'd stop, too, and call on old Sir Francis."

In justice, however, to the admirers of this sort of poetry, let us quote Mr. Aubrey de Vere:

"Of the longer poems which attempt exclusively to describe the finer emotions of modern society, the most original and most artistic is Mr. Coventry Patmore's 'Angel in the House;' a poem," he adds, "which is better than a thousand *a priori* arguments in favor of the school to which it belongs. Others, instead of representing have caricatured modern life. They seem to have forgotten that the railway whistle and the smoke of the factory chimney are but accidents of our age, as powder and patch were accidents of the preceding one, and that the true life of the nineteenth century must lie deeper."[1]

In spite of Aubrey de Vere, one of the most acute and just of critics, it is difficult to enjoy a poem of realism without an ever-present fear that the tea-cups may fall or the piles of bread and butter come down suddenly. Tennyson's realism is so enameled that there seems to be less danger of breaking its surface; he gives it such a pastoral character that it is as unartificial as an idyll of Theocritus and as elegant as a scene done by Watteau. The late Lord Lytton in "Lucile" escaped simpleness by becoming romantic. This, Patmore does not attempt; he goes on, with his recurrent rhymes, chronicling, with an audacity that is dazzling, the every-day affairs of life in a place where nothing ever happens. Miss Austen, in her most domestic novels, was not more realistic, and Crabbe's verses are tumultuous compared with his; but here, while confessing myself as of those who have prejudices,—not perhaps founded on principles,—against "The Angel in the House," let me quote Aubrey de Vere again when he speaks

[1] Essays, Literary and Ethical. By Aubrey de Vere, LL. D. Macmillan & Co.

of certain poets,—"With some the fancy acquires a daintiness which loses the fine in the superfine, and can only condescend to touch the honest realities of nature through the intercession of a white kid glove. Hence love is treated as if we live in a moonlight world, and were too delicate to bear sunshine. The converse evil has yet more debased the literature of many periods, especially in that diseased school which, under the guise of celebrating passion, sings in reality the blind triumph of animal instincts thinly veiled. From these blemishes Mr. Patmore's work is entirely free."

These verses of domestic life may be delightful poems of the highest value; they are popular, and a thousand times above Mr. Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy," which was also popular,—more popular indeed than anything written by Mr. Patmore. It would be absurd to make popularity the test of merit. And as to the structure, of these verses, which produces as monotonous an effect as the perpetual couplet rhymes of Pope, Mr. Patmore might offer in extenuation his "Night and Sleep," one of the most exquisitely musical poems in our language:

"How strange at night to wake,
And watch while others sleep,
'Till sight and hearing ache
For objects that may keep
The awful inner sense
Unroused, lest it should mark
The life that haunts the emptiness
And horror of the dark!

How strange at night the bay
Of dogs, how wild the note
Of cocks that scream for day,
In homesteads far remote;
How strange and wild to hear
The old and crumbling tower,
Amid the darkness, suddenly
Take tongue and speak the hour!"

Although the music of "Night and Sleep" is not dependent upon the rhyme, it is plain,—as the form of poetry appeals to the ear,—that the rhyme is a gain; and yet one does not miss it in the fifth and seventh line of each stanza. The real musical charm of the poem,—only two stanzas, of four, are given here,—lies in the management of the rhythm. "We

have only to *fill up* the measure in every line as well as in the seventh, in order to change this verse from the slowest and most mournful to the most rapid and most high-spirited of all English, the common eight-syllable quatrain," says Mr. Patmore in his "Essay on English Metrical Law," "a measure particularly recommended by the early critics, and continually chosen by poets in all times for erotic poetry on account of its joyous air. The reason of this unusual rapidity of movement is the unusual character of the eight-syllable verse as acatalectic, almost all other kinds of verse being catalectic on at least one syllable, implying a final pause of corresponding duration."

Mr. Patmore here shows that the rhyme in this lovely "Night and Sleep" is merely accessory, a lightly played accompaniment to a song that would be as beautiful a song without it, yet gaining a certain accent through this accompaniment, and that the real questions in all verse are of rhythm and of time. Tennyson, whose technique, even in the use of sibilants, will bear the closest scrutiny, often proves the merely accessory value of rhyme, but in no instance more fully than in—

> "Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean;
> Tears from the depth of some divine despair
> Rise in the heart and gather in the eyes,
> In looking on the happy autumn fields,
> And thinking of the days that are no more."[1]

This is an exquisite lyric. Until science analyzes more deeply the finest links that form the most elusive chains of harmony, and inspiration seizes the result of this analysis, there can be no more exquisite lyric. It sings itself; rhyme would be superfluous, and no musical setting by a composer has hitherto succeeded in anything except in making the ear attuned to verbal music regret that it should not have been let alone. To add elaborate notes to this lyric is like permeating lilies of the valley with analine dye. It needs no rhyme. So true is this that the hearer does not notice the lack of rhyme until his attention is called to it. If rhyme is only an accompaniment to the form of poetry, not an essential part of

[1] The Princess.

that form, it might be well to inquire as to how far association is responsible for the impressions which rhythm gives us,—for if rhyme is dismissed we must use rhythm and time as bases for the structure of verse-forms. We all know that by a change of ictus the solemn Welsh national air or the "Grosser Gott" may be turned into a veritably jolly lilt. And so, as Mr. Patmore says, his "Night and Sleep" can be made a bacchanalian chorus by another use of accent and silence. But if we consider rhythm as a fixed quantity capable of conveying definite impressions, we have only to turn to the "Heathen Chinee" to find that Bret Harte has, without changing an accent, appropriated one of the most solemnly harmonious of Swinburne's measures in the "Atalanta in Calydon." It is a far cry from the "Heathen Chinee" to the finest of all Swinburne's masterly experiments in metres; but it is an example of an adaptation of dignity to the antic mood,—and yet the sweep of sound in the hymn in praise of Atalanta is not recalled by the quaint complaint of the victim of the bland Chinese. It is a parody, but the hearer does not find it out until an accident or a remark by a previous discoverer informs him of it. It probably would have remained unheeded had not Mr. Bret Harte confessed his guilt. The student of "Atalanta in Calydon" is haunted by the resemblance, after it has been pointed out; but to most of us the "Heathen Chinee" could not have appeared in a more natural or spontaneous form. It is not the incongruity of the medium with the thought that strikes us, for the *naiveté* of Bret Harte's hero never was on sea or land; it is plainly artificial; the meaning and the expression have become one, and, by a process similar to that of Rudyard Kipling, the author of the "Heathen Chinee" has added to our language a new humorous verse-form which, though stolen without detection, cannot be re-appropriated without instant discovery.

The rhythm of—

"Not with cleaving of shields
And their clash in thine ear
Where the lord of fought fields.
Breaketh spearshaft from spear,
Thou art broken, our lord, thou art broken,
With travail and labor and fear."

becomes, without change of accent, the chaunt of Bret Harte's injured innocent.

"Which is why I remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark,
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinee is peculiar,
Which the same I am free to maintain.

"In the scene that ensued
I did not take a hand;
But the floor it was strewed
Like the leaves on the strand
With the cards that Ah Sin had been hiding,
In the game "he did not understand."

But there is, all the same, a difference, and the difference lies, not in the rhythm, but in a series of delicate, almost impalpable pauses that change the character of the music. It is in the management of the pauses,—in the recognition of the value of time-beats,—that Coventry Patmore's supremacy, in the Ode form, lies. In his "domestic verses" he uses rhyme in places where Tennyson would not have dreamed of it,—recklessly, audaciously; but, in his highest moods, when his imagination is at its whitest heat, he treats rhyme as an echo. Why he retains it at all, except as a concession to that conservatism which is the perpetual foundation for his extremest radicalism, is an unanswered question. As an echo, not as a mere imitation of an echo, rhyme has great musical possibilities which Mr. Patmore has only suggested. Phrase answers to phrase in music, but the effect is of strophe complementing strophe, not of line answering to line. As in the sextette of a Petrarchan sonnet, the rhymes echo one to the other rather than boldly repeat the cadence with equal voice, so rhyme, at its best is an echo,—or, if a repetition, it is well softened by distance. I speak of rhyme when applied to the higher and finer moods of the mind. As a help to the expression of gaiety, high spirits, of the intoxication of the senses,—as an assistance to the "attack" of the vocalist, in songs written for actual singing and full of the minor emotions, it is invaluable. It would be only necessary to point to the "Nora Creina" of Tom Moore to show this, if it needed to be

proven; it is to the brisker of his melodies what the sound of the castinets is to the Spanish songs like "La Paloma"; absent, the loss would be felt; but it is not an essential part of the melody.

The verse-form,—made up, in English, of catalexis, rhythm and rhyme,—addresses itself to the ear. The eye of late insists that verse shall consider it; but this demand is only a modern concession, entirely unreasonable, encouraged by the base education of the eye through the meretricious usurpations of the art of printing.

Now, who could or would sing or chaunt the every-day doings of Patmore's amiable lover and his lass without a loss of self-respect? Rhyme ought to be a musical accompaniment. In the "Angel of the House" and "The Rosy Bosom'd Hours" it ceases to be a musical effect because it is ineffective and becomes merely an equivalent for the legend, "this is verse." "John Gilpin," a rhymed ballad, has the same right to exist as "Chevy Chase" or "Lord Bateman." Its recurrent rhymes might be crooned endlessly by an old nurse near a rural fireside. One of the principal uses of rhyme in the very old days was to put children to sleep,—Eve, no doubt, discovered that without recourse to psychology or physics. The author of Mother Goose's Melodies,—who is one of the greatest of rhymsters in English,—found this out through no series of experiments, but through the intuitional wisdom of generations.

If rhyme is an aid to memory, let the primary text-books be in rhyme. As a relief to insomnia its value is unquestioned. All English poets since Shakespere have been safest, when, in long poems, they discarded it. The couplets of Pope tire us, if taken many at a time; and it is one of the greatest tributes to Dante, that his value has stood, among us English-speaking peoples, the test of rhymed translations.

As time goes on, poetry will be more and more addressed to the ear. It aims to express the inexpressible; it never succeeds because the inexpressible *is* inexpressible; but it approaches, it approximates; above all, it suggests. It flares or it glows, but it can never completely illuminate. Its form changes with the changes in speech and with the progress of the education of the people in music. When the

people cease to find poetry musical, they let it alone. Old Fletcher of Saltoun's Wise Man spoke of the "ballads" of the people, not of verses in the modern sense. Wagner and the circle impressed, in various ways with the musical "time-spirit," have gradually modified the popular view of music in Western countries. It is now, even with the more cultured of the ignorant, not entirely a matter of melody. The popular ear is becoming more attuned to those delicate tones, compact of sound and silence, which make up harmony. And verse music, which is a very different thing from music proper, is reflecting the effects of this progress. The difference exactly between verse and music can be tested only by physics. Sydney Lanier's researches, hypotheses, and experiment, founded greatly on Helmholtz, have taken off the chill that this association might have given the advocates of the intuitive school of poetry. As Mr. Edward Lucas White says: "We need to know exactly what are the sounds used in music, and exactly what are the sounds used in verse, how far and in just what respects they differ. Then we need to know to what degree each of the characteristics of sound—namely: pitch, time, loudness and quality—is of importance in the makeup of the rhythm of verse; and the like concerning music, and whether the importance of each in music is the same in respect to the others as it is in verse. And when we know all there is to know as to the differences between the manners in which their characteristics are handled, we shall know all there is to know about the difference between music and verse, considering each as sound only. Finally and definitely these questions can be settled only by careful and well-devised laboratory experiments. In the absence of such there is but a meagre and unsatisfactory basis upon which to reason."[1]

This being true, exact conclusions as to respective value of music and the musical qualities of verse are at present out of our reach; but there is no doubt that the effect aimed at through verse is musical, and that verse has, in common with music, rhythm, time and what is called "quality." "Every difference of quality," Mr. White says, in his remarkable monograph, "is referable either to the different sets of

[1] On the Study of English Verse (unpublished). Edward Lucas White.

harmonics in the sounds compared or to the harmonics which are loud in one sound, being soft in the other, if the series for each sound be the same." In music, after time, pitch is of the greatest importance; in verse, after time, quality is of the greatest importance. In music there are combinations that approach to rhyme; there is recurrence approaching to parallelism in verse;—there are constant repetitions of rythmical movements, but not often repetitions of the last note of a musical phrase exactly answering to that vowel and consonantal combination which we call rhyme. If there were no other reason, this would be enough to show that rhyme cannot be judged by the analogy of music. But to repeat, perhaps unwarrantably, verse has no right to exist if it is not musical. To be musical, it must have the vital qualities of rhythm and time. Shakespere's sonnet (LXXIII) is rhythmical; you can count the time as easily as an orchestra leader wields his baton to the notes of Chopin's funeral march. Let us observe, though, that until we reach the couplet the rhyme in this sonnet is not forced upon us, as it is in the "domestic" verses of Coventry Patmore. It is like a gentle accompaniment; it does not round out the musical phrase. The first quatrain of the octave begins with a long, melancholy cadence:

> "That time of year thou mayst in me behold
> When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
> Upon those boughs which shake against the cold,
> Bare, ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang."

In the second quatrain, the phrases become shorter, more personal, more emotional, more agitated:

> "In me thou see'st the twilight of such day
> As after sunset fadeth in the west;
> Which by and by black night doth take away,
> Death's second self, that seals up all in rest."

The rhyme in the sextette is not that mostly affected by Petrarch, who, in the most delicate of all forms, used rhyme more carefully than either Sidney or Shakespere. The "crack of the whip," the couplet at the end of the sextette, almost spoils one of the most harmonious English sonnets we have, for suddenly the rhyme accompaniment makes itself heard in a disagreeable and epigrammatic jingle.

The phrases are again quick and short, breathed swiftly over the dying embers of the heart :

> " In me thou see'st the glowing of such fire,
> That on the ashes of his youth doth lie,
> As the death-bed whereon it must expire,
> Consumed with that which it was nourished by.
> This thou perceivest, which makes thy love more strong,
> To love that well which thou must leave ere long."

Here is verse-music in perfection,—time, rhythm, and quality which rhymed, is delightful to the ear ; and yet it is not more musical than the speech of Belarius (Cymbeline, Act IV, Scene II),

> " O thou goddess,
> Thou divine nature, how thyself thou blazon'st
> In these two princely boys ! They are as gentle
> As zephyrs blowing below the violet,
> Not wagging his sweet head ; and yet as rough,
> Their royal blood enchafed, as the rudest wind
> That by the top doth take the mountain pine,
> And make him stoop to the vale."

As Shakespere increases in power he disregards rhyme. In the early plays he dropped into rhyming couplets continually; his practice in the later days was in direct contrast. As he matures, he lays less stress on the end of a line,—a practice which shows that his ear had begun to lose the association of rhyme. Orlando's rhymes make easy mockery for Touchstone. And, after Ariel's

> " Hark, hark ! I hear
> The strain of strutting chanticleer,
> Cry, cock-a-diddle-dow,"

which the satirical spirit attunes to " Bow-wow," comes Prince Ferdinand's strain (Tempest, Act I, Scene II):

> " Where should this music be ? I' th' air or th' earth ?
> It sounds no more ; and sure it waits upon
> Some god o' th' island. Sitting on a bank,
> Weeping again the king my father's wreck,
> This music crept by me upon the waters,
> Allaying both their fury and my passion
> With its sweet air ; thence I have followed it,
> Or it had drawn me rather But 'tis gone,
> No, it begins again."

Rhyme could not improve the harmony of Caliban's speech (Act III, Scene 2):

> "Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises,
> Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.
> Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
> Will hum about mine ears, and sometimes voices
> That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
> Will make me sleep again; and then, in dreaming,
> The clouds methought would open, and show riches
> Ready to drop upon me: that when I waked,
> I cried to dream again."

The practice of Shakespere,—whose verse music was always addressed to the ear, and never to the eye,—shows that, in using the noblest vehicle for imagination and thought in our language,—the five-accented verse, with the iambic quality predominant,—he avoided rhyme. The practice of Coventry Patmore, who consciously advanced the musical quality of English verse many degrees, shows that, in his best moments, he looked on rhyme as a mere accessory.

The sonnet stands apart; its fourteen lines are required, by rule, to have their bell-like effect; but nothing is so like the couplet ending,—of which the English were so fond,—as the clang of the typewriter's metals. The sonnet was borrowed from a language which rhymes naturally; in Italian it is easier to find a rhyme than to avoid one. Take, at random, the canzone,—

> "Spirto gentil, che quelle membra reggi
> Dentro alle qua' peregrinando alberga
> Un signor valoroso, accorto, e saggio;
> Poi che se' giunto all' onorata verga;
> Con la qual Roma, e suoi erranti correggi,
> E la richiamai al suo antico viaggio;
> I' parlo a te, però ch'altrove un raggio
> Non veggio di vertù, ch'al mondo e spenta;
> Nè trovo chi di mal far si vergogna."
>
> (Rime del Petrarca, Canzone XI).

In English this richness cannot be attained by the most stringent labor. There is too much noise in our words, and, in proportion, very little music. In the sonnet, artifice must be so chastened that it attains the supremest technical effects of art,—ease and simplicity. The thought of the octave may flow, wavelike, into the third quatrain, if you like the English

form; or it may, if you prefer Petrarch's way, be closely allied to the syllogism, with the marked change from the premises to the conclusion. Like a diamond of fourteen facets, it must be cut and polished until it is lucent, in every part; there must be no flaw, and Petrarch and those before him insisted that rhymes—the *sonnetti*—must ring at intervals; but the Italians, who kick a rhyme with every step they take, would not stoop to pick up too many, while the earlier English made great and awkward strides in pursuit of rhymes which are very coy in our language. An unrhymed sonnet is impossible, for the conquest of the form is in proportion to the arbitrary difficulty overcome; it is a thing apart—*sui generis*. And it is so written that the mandolin—or, in great hands,—the harp echoes must accompany the sonnet. Otherwise, as Italian masters made it, it could not be. It is an exotic form torn from a richer soil yet flourishing among us. But the ode is natural to us. It is a form of inspiration, in which every palpitation of the great thought is seen beneath the drapery of words. The English language is opulent in odes, from Spenser's Epithalamium to Lowell's "Commemoration." From Milton's "Lycidas" to Gilder's "I am the Spirit of the Morning Sea," they circle in splendor. And in this innermost splendor glow the Odes of Coventry Patmore. Crashaw had his gleams of great light. He came near to the nimbus of St. Teresa and the halo of St. John the Divine; but Patmore is nearer. It was reserved for him, too, to atone for the tinkling of "The Angel in the House" and "The Rosy Bosom'd Hours" by boldly restoring to English verse its heritage of music. Patmore does not disregard rhyme in his "Odes," but it becomes an echo; he uses it as the servant of his thought; with him it is not like the genius of the Arabian tales, escaped from its vase, and tyrannous. He begins the work of emancipation by "rhyming at indefinite intervals." "A license," he says, somewhat frightened by this radical change from his earlier habit, "which is counterbalanced, in the writings of all poets who have employed this metre (catalectic verse) successfully by unusual frequency in the recurrence of the same rhyme."[1]

[1] Poems, by Coventry Patmore: Fifth Collective Edition. London, 1894. George Bell & Sons.

In "The Unknown Eros," Mr. Patmore propounds his theory and shows how it works in experiment. A poet, as a rule, gets the music in his head and measures it afterwards. "So," says Mr. White, "no one imagines that Barye had any lack of imagination because, after he had modeled, say a group of animals in violent action, he went over the model using a pantographic device when he was not modeling life size, and measured every part of the model to see if his eye had been at fault anywhere." And the poet uses his "pantographic device," his rules and measures, his tests and analyses, after the wildwood notes of his song have come to him. It may not be altogether a "wildwood" song, for by some unknown and unconscious process he has taken from the wind and thunder and the sea sounds their fundamental tones and harmonies. When and how did the song rise in his heart? Who knows? Maurice de Guérin's "Centaure" well exclaims: "Les mortels qui touchèrent les dieux par leur vertu ont reçu de leur mains des lyres pour charmer les peuples,—mais rien de leur bouche inexorable."

Coventry Patmore's music was deliberately composed by him, on hints found in those poets, from Drummond of Hawthornden to our own time, who had made "some of the noblest flights of English poetry." He restores silence to the singer, for his "catalexis" is only silence filled by the beating of time. He enables the student who could not find the law of the "Ode" among the many lawless imitations of Pindar, to touch a standard by which the finest form of the lyric may be judged. "In its highest order, the lyric or 'ode,'" he says, "is a tetrameter, the line having the time of eight iambics. When it descends to narrative or the expression of a less exalted strain of thought, it becomes a dimeter, with the time of four; and it is allowable to vary the tetrameter 'ode' by the introduction of passages in either or both of these inferior measures; but not, I think, by the use of any other." [1]

'The thought, however,' he assumes, "must voluntary move harmonious numbers." He demands that final pauses be considered. He lays down as a great general law that *the elementary measure, or integer, of English verse is double the*

[1] The Unknown Eros: preface to 3d edition.

measure of ordinary prose,—that is to say it is the space which is bounded by alternate accents; *that every verse proper contains two, three, or four of these 'metres,'* or as with a little allowance they may be called 'dipodes,' *and that there is properly no such thing as hypercatalexis.* All English verses in common cadence are therefore dimeters, trimeters, or tetrameters, and consist, when they are *full*, i. e., without catalexis, of eight, twelve, or sixteen syllables. Verses in triple cadence obey the same law, only their length exceeds that of the trimeter on account of the great number of syllables or places for syllables (twenty-four) which would be involved in a tetrameter of such a cadence."

While admitting, or rather insisting, that time and rhythm are the necessities of verse-music, he declares, almost with solemnity, that rhyme and alliteration—"head rhyme"—are no mere ornaments; the former marks essential metrical pauses, the latter "is a very effective mode of conferring emphasis on the accent which is the primary foundation of metre."[1] This assertion is not, however, corroborated in the series of "Odes" which gives Mr. Patmore an unique place among English-writing poets. These great lyrics do not, in form, fit all parts of his theory. They cannot be justified by the old foot-rule methods of scansion; they are admirable material for the study of metres, and they seem to indicate that the verse of the future must have that spontaneity,—exclusive of monotony,—which all beautiful things have. His famous narrative-lyric, "The Toys," is, by comparison, the severest criticism upon the verses on which his earlier reputation rested. No man with a sense of humor could have written most of them, and their method seems to justify the impression that he had to revolt against them, or perish as a poet. The quality of spontaneity and the characteristic of plasticity are evident in all those nobler lyrics. They answer to all the definitions of poetry and still have that hidden principle which no definition covers, and is felt, but which never has even been fully described. The "Ode" that of all in "The Unknown Eros," best exemplifies Mr. Patmore's theories, and

[1] Essay on English Metrical Law.

in which his inspiration is complete, is the seventh, "To the Body." It opens with the sweeping phrase,

"Creation and Creator's crowning good."

It is like the full tide of the first movement of a symphony; it gives the time and the scope of the piece. He mars the effect when he attempts to rhyme "good" with "infinitude,"—

"Wall of infinitude;
Foundation of the sky,
In Heaven forecast
And longed for from eternity,
Though laid the last;
Reverberating dome
Of music cunningly built home
Against the void and indolent disgrace
Of unresponsive space;
Little sequestered pleasure-house
For God and for His Spouse."

This is dignified; this is solemn; it is pitched in the highest plane of aspiration; it will bear any analysis based on Mr. Patmore's theory of catalexis; but, if verse is addressed to the ear, why should that conservative rhyme for "sky," "eternity," be addressed to the eye? There are reasons of convenience and conventionality for his dividing his verse into lines which are only parts of a single musical phrase. For example,—

"Elaborately, yea, past conceiving fair,
Since from the graced decorum of the hair,
Ev'n to the tingling sweet
Soles of the simple, earth-confiding feet,
And from the inmost heart
Outwards unto the thin
Silk curtains of the skin,
Every least part
Astonished hears
And sweet replies to some like region of the spheres."

Here we have an arrangement of musical phrases, dependent entirely on cunningly distributed silences, filled with time-beats. These phrases are *grave* or *allegretto*, as the sentiment dictating to the plastic form, forces them; but, where the rhyme does not show that a line ends, there is not, except it be a stopt-ending, any indication of the line, to the ear.

"Formed for a dignity prophets but darkly name,
Lest shameless men cry 'Shame.'
So rich with wealth concealed
That Heaven and Hell fight chiefly for this field;
Clinging to everything that pleases thee
With indefectible fidelity;
Alas, so true
To all thy friendships that no grace
Thee from thy sin can wholly disembrace;
Which thus 'bides with thee as the Jesubite,
That, maugre all God's promises could do,
The chosen people never conquer'd quite;
Who therefore lived with them,
And that by formal truce and as of right,
In metropolitan Jerusalem."

The music of the sustained phrase reaches the culmination in

"For which false fealty
Thou must needs, for a season, lie
In the grave's arms, foul and unshriven,
Albeit in Heaven,
Thy crimson-throbbing Glow
Into its old abode aye pants to go,
And does with envy see
Enoch, Elijah. and the Lady, she
Who left the roses in her body's lieu."

There are those that hold that the passionate, yet solemn music at the close, defies Mr. Patmore's rules. The fact remains that it is pure verse music. Tried by the tests drawn from the Greek and Latin, which so far as English metres are concerned, are alien to us, these fine harmonic phrases would be rejected; the time has gone when the music in our language must be stifled to suit rhetorical measures which can not be applied to it.

"O, if the pleasures I have known in thee
But my poor faith's poor first-fruits be,
What quintessential, keen, ethereal bliss
Then shall be his
Who has thy birth-time's consecrating dew
For death's sweet chrism retain'd,
Quick, tender, virginal, and unprofaned!"

It is to be regretted that the exquisite sense which caught and gave this musical sequence should have marred it for the ear by making 'his' read 'hiss'. It would have been better to have done without the rhyme.

In the little pathetic sonata, "If I Were Dead", which manifests the results of his theories, Mr. Patmore uses rhyme with an audacity which seems lawless;—fortunately one forgets this in the admirable effect produced by accent and silences, so managed that silences seem as the shadow of waving leaves,—

> "If I were dead, you'd sometimes say, 'Poor Child'.
> The dear lips quivered as they spake,
> And the tears brake,
> From eyes which, not to grieve me, brightly smiled.
> Poor Child, poor Child!
> I seem to hear your laugh, your talk, your song.
> It is not true that Love will do no wrong.
> Poor Child!
> And did you think when you so cried and smiled,
> How I, in lonely nights, should lie awake,
> And of those words your full avengers make?
> Poor Child, poor Child!
> And now, unless it be
> That sweet amends thrice told are come to thee,
> O God, have thou no mercy upon me!
> Poor Child!"

"Wind and Wave" opens with,

> "The wedded light and heat,
> Winnowing the witless space
> Without a let,
> What are they till they beat
> Against the sleepy sod, and there beget
> Perchance the violet,—"

and drifts into silence with

> "And so the whole
> Unfathomable and immense
> Triumphing tide comes at the last to reach
> And bursts in wind-kissed splendors on the deaf'ning beach,
> Where forms of children in first innocence
> Laugh and fling pebbles on the rainbow'd crest
> Of its untired unrest."

The place of "The Unknown Eros," and the other poems which are catalectic, is fixed. There can be no question as to their position among the best poems in English speech. They are worth much, from the technical point of view, because,—whether Mr. Patmore's theories stand or not,—he has applied a new measure,—or newly discovered an old measure,—which opens wider vistas of delight to all whose ear is attuned to sounds of beauty. Without the intention of doing

so, he shows us that rhyme is practically unimportant. Unconsciously, too, he offers evidence against artificial conventions, and at the same time proves that the exact science of verse is a vain phrase until the value of speech sounds be settled by physics. A time may come when we shall not entirely agree with Sidney Lanier, in the last chapter of "The Science of English Verse" that: "For the artist in verse there is no law; the perception and love of beauty constitute the whole outfit; and what is herein set forth is to be taken merely as enlarging that perception and exalting that love." But we shall always hold that "in all cases the appeal is to the ear; *but the ear should, for that purpose, be educated up to the highest plane of culture.*" The sense so refined makes for law.

The "Odes" of Coventry Patmore are precious for this sort of culture. They may lead to greater and more splendid forms of utterance in the future than either Shakespeare or Milton caught and gave forth. The day has not come when the reading of poetry will be taught as carefully as the musician teaches the reading of music, but a score of the verse effects of Mr. Patmore might easily be prepared, within certain musical limitations, which would broaden the views of those readers of verse who now fancy that the music of the great poet consists principally in recurrent rhymes or assonances, and thus limit their perception and enjoyment.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

THE PRE-MOSAIC SABBATH.[1]—I

The gradual evolution of man's rational faculties is accompanied by signs of a moral sense whence springs the manifestation of various duties that result from the necessary relations between Creator and creature. Rationalists and infidels excepted, all admit that man is obliged, by means of external worship, to acknowledge his dependence upon a Supreme Being, the beginning and end of human existence. Though generally received in principle, considerable diversity prevails in applying this truth,—due, no doubt, to the fact that the time of fulfilling the duty falls within the sphere of positive legislation. True, the leaders of the various theories concerning the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath do not assign this motive for their differences; nevertheless, they can be traced to an improper location of the borderland between natural and ceremonial law, or to a tendency in some to make every possible argument serve the purpose of a preconceived theory.

Hessey[2] points out the salient features of six systems between some of which not more than an accidental shade of variation can be detected. A threefold division will, therefore, suffice to embody the chief ideas of the contending parties. There are the claimants of a sabbath before the exodus[3]; the advocates of a sabbath under the law, and those who, while leaning to one or other of these views, hold that Christ abrogated the old covenant, and consequently the appointed day of worship is no longer the seventh but the first day of the week.

The purport of the present article is simply to embody the line of argument favoring the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath. A cursory glance at the rise and progress of the pre-Mosiac sabbath idea, a judicious examination of the Scriptural evidence and the results attained by the labors of orien-

[1] A dissertation offered to the Faculty of Theology for the degree of Licentiate in Theology (June 1898), by the undersigned, professor of fundamental moral theology in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore.

[2] Sunday, its Origin and History.

[3] Andrews, History of the Sabbath. Lewis, History of the Sabbath and Sunday.

tal scholars, together with the *a priori* reasons which demand a pre-Mosaic sabbath, will doubtless contribute to facilitate this undertaking.[1]

I. THE APOSTOLIC AND ANTE-NICENE FATHERS.—The necessity of giving undivided attention to the observance of the day on which Christ arose from the dead, prevented the Apostolic Fathers from commenting on those verses of Genesis, which "have created the whole controversy upon this subject."[2] They could scarcely have insisted on a pre-Mosaic sabbath, and consistently carry out their purpose with the conservative Jews.[3]

As the difficulties of the apostolic age were still unsettled, the pre-Mosaic sabbath did not elicit special attention during the Ante-Nicene period. Nearly all the allusions to it are gathered from passages bearing on other important points of belief or practice. The first line which has been turned against a pre-Mosaic sabbath is taken from Justin's works. Circumcision and sabbath-keeping are, to his mind, on a par. The former did not exist during the patriarchal age; neither did the

[1] For the present study the original SOURCES are as follows: SACRED—Genesis II, 2, 3; Exodus XVI, XX. PROFANE—Babylonian Legends, Chaldean Account of Genesis, New York, 1880; Babylonian Calendars, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, London, 1881–1884. LITERATURE—The Fathers, scholastics, early Jewish writers, and many commentators treat different phases of the question. I have used especially: Tostatus, In Genesim et Exodum, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1613; A Lapide, In Genesim et Exodum, Lugduni, 1840; Hummelauer, In Genesim, Parisiis, 1895; Hummelauer, In Exodum, Parisiis, 1897; Dillmann, Genesis Critically and Exegetically Examined, Edinburgh, 1897; Delitzsch, New Commentary on Genesis, New York, 1889; Tappehorn, Erklärung der Genesis. GENERAL REFERENCE WORKS—Only those giving special attention to the question are mentioned. Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, London, 1887; Schrader, Cuneiform Inscriptions I, London, 1885; Wilkinson, Customs and Manners of Ancient Egyptians, London, 1857; Wellhausen, History of Israel, Edinburgh, 1885; Boscawen, Primitive Hebrew Records in the Light of Modern Research, New York; Rheim, Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthns, vol. II, Sabbath; Smith, Bible Dictionary, Sabbath, Week; Encyclopaedia Brittanica, vol. XXI, art. Sabbath. SPECIAL TREATISES—Lotz, Questiones de Historia Sabbati, Lipsiae, 1883; Hessey, Sunday, Bampton Lectures, 1860, London, 1889; Gilfillan, The Sabbath viewed in the light of Reason, Revelation, and History, Edinburgh, 1861; Cox, Literature of the Sabbath Question, Edinburgh, 1865; Wood, Sabbath Essays, Boston, 1890; Warren, The Sunday Question, Boston, 1890. REVIEW ARTICLES—Proctor, Origin of the Week, Contemporary Review, June, 1879; Johnston, The Sabbath in the Monuments of Ninevah, Catholic Presbyterian, Jan., 1881; Johnston, Traces of the Sabbath in Heathen Lands, Catholic Presbyterian, Mar., 1881; Martin, Origin of the Week, Philosophie Chrétienne, Jan., 1882; Durand, La Semaine Chez Les Peuples Bibliques, Etudes Religieuses, Apr., June, 1895; Jensen, The Supposed Babylonian Origin of the Week and the Sabbath, Sunday-School Times, Jan. 16, 1892; Jastrow, The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath, American Journal of Theology, April, 1898.

[2] Paley, Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, v. 7.

[3] Vid. Barnabas' Epistle §15, Ignatius ad Magnesianos, cc. 8, 9.

latter.[1] No doubt Justin's intention was simply to show how the sabbath, such as it was under the law, did not exist in pre-Mosaic times.[2] In order to show that the sabbath was not a means of justification, Irenaeus[3] quotes passages from Exodus[4] and Ezechiel.[5] No more judicious appreciation could be presented on this point than the following: "Neither Ezechiel nor Moses claims that the sabbath was not observed before the Mosaic age, but both consider that no other nation accorded it such a position as the Jews."[6]

The commentary of Estius[7] on Genesis declares that St. Cyprian opposes the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath.[8] While it is evident that St. Cyprian refers to the Almighty's complaints against the manner in which the Jews observed the sabbath, yet his language must be strained to obtain anything like a protest against the pre-Mosaic sabbath.[9] Elsewhere St. Cyprian explains the meaning of sabbath as well as its application to weeks and years, but leaves no clue regarding its earliest observance.[10]

Perhaps, none of the Ante-Nicene writers leans so much towards a pre-Mosaic sabbath as does Origen. For him there is a sabbath which lasts during the duration of the world, and in which all those will keep festival with God who have done all their work in six days, and, who, because they have omitted none of their duties, will ascend to the contemplation (of celestial things) and to the assembly of righteous and blessed beings.[11]

Tertullian coincides with his predecessors in many ways, but he deviates from them in his episode upon Abel.[12] No one can deny that sacrifice and sacred time are correlative; one

[1] Dialog. c. Trypho, c. 19, Migne, P. G., IV, 348.
[2] Cox, Lit. of Sabbath Question, vol. I, pp. 213, 214.
[3] Contra Haereses IV.
[4] Ezechiel XX. 12.
[5] Exodus XXXI, 13.
[6] Lotz, Questiones de Historia Sabbati, p. 10.
[7] Posthumous Work.
[8] Genesis II, 3.
[9] Tractatus adv. Judaeos.
[10] Oratio de Sp. Sancto.
[11] Contra Celsum VI, 61.
[12] "Consequently his (Adam's) offspring also, Abel offering him sacrifices uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath whilst he accepted (or credited him with) what he was offering in simplicity of heart, and reprobated the sacrifice of his brother Cain, who was not rightly dividing what he was offering." Contra Judæos II.

calls for the other. Several of the Fathers regarded the sabbath as a sign between Jehovah and the chosen people, but it is idle to argue that, as a consequence, this militates against its pre-Mosaic origin. Did not the rainbow become a sign between God and Noe? Who will contend that it never appeared in the heavens prior to this covenant? Assuredly the Fathers would not reason thus in the latter case; why ascribe such a method to them in the former?

The language of Eusebius all but entitles him to rank as the earliest exponent of a pre-Mosaic sabbath.[1]

Though imprudent to disregard the opinion of these writers in doctrinal matters, yet since they realized their inability to settle all mooted questions, it is not minimizing their authority to scrutinize their writings. Inasmuch as they have followed not only the same line of thought, but the same form of expression, the consensus thus obtained can scarcely carry as much weight as if they reached an agreement by personal reflexion and research. Finally, the speculations of a Gentile philosophy on the one hand, and the conservatism of a Jewish cult on the other could not fail to give a coloring to their views such as never would have occurred under more favorable circumstances.

II. Post-Nicene Writers.—As the main tendency of the leaders in thought during this period is to insist on the mystical or figurative sense of Scripture, definiteness of detail concerning a pre-Mosaic sabbath should not be anticipated. Saint Chrysostom is first in clearness, as he is first in time. From the very beginning, says he, God intimated the separation of one day in seven for spiritual exercise.[2] In a way less explicit, St. Ambrose alludes to God's rest on the sabbath day and insinuates that the sabbath commemorative of this rest was anterior to the law.[3] St. Jerome points out the analogy between the sabbath and circumcision, but sheds no light on the present issue.[4] Many passages in St. Augustine's works

[1] Eusebius, Præparatio Evangel. XIII 2, Migne, P. G. XIII, 1190.

[2] "Jam hinc ab initio doctrinam hanc aenigmatice nobis insinuat Deus erudiens nos in circulo hebdomadis diem unam integram segregandam et consecrandam spiritualium operationum." Hom. X in Gen.

[3] In Hexameron VI 8, 10—"Dies autem sabbati erat dierum ordine posterior, sanctifatione legis anterior." Ennar. in Psalmum XLVII.

[4] Com. in Ezechielem, Lib VI, 20, in Amos, VI, 2.

indicate a determination to insist on the proper sense, real as well as figurative, of the text referring to God's rest after creation and to draw a line of demarcation between the sabbath of the Jew and the Sunday of the Christian.[1] This, however, he did without touching the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath.

Strange to say, St. Cyril of Alexandria undertook to clarify certain passages of Paul and Jeremias that offered difficulty to contemporary students of this question, yet withal he never ventured an opinion regarding the pre-Mosaic sabbath.[2] Later on Theodoret emphasizes the nature of the sanctification peculiar to the seventh day, and asserts that the inspired writer refers to the Creator's rest on that day, but he is silent as to the time when this blessing had its effect among men.[3] The same is true of Procopius of Gaza[4] and Isidore of Seville.[5] This period closes with Bede whom anti-patriarchal sabbatists hail as a pronounced antagonist of the pre-Mosaic sabbath. Either to Bede have been attributed ideas of which he is not the author,[6] or a figurative passage has been strained to give undue weight to prepossessed opinions.[7]

III. The Scholastic Period.—The scholastics deserve credit for a tendency to greater clearness of expression concerning the sabbath question. So systematically does William of Paris propose the reasons of a sabbath under the law as to give assurance that he would have been a vigorous advocate

[1] De Gen. ad lit., IV, 12; De Civ. Dei, XIII 17—Contra Manichæos XXII Epist. CXIX.

[2] De adoratione et cultu in sp. et verit. Migne, P. G., XXXVI 312 sq.

[3] Questiones in Gen. XXI, Migne P. G., XLI 752.

[4] Procopius in Gen. II, Exod. XX, Migne P. G., 80, 81, 407.

[5] Isidore of Seville, Minge, P. L; LXXXII (III) 251.

[6] Hessey citing Bishop White, attributes the following passage to Bede: "Non actu et reipsa, sed decreto et destinatione sua quasi diceret quia quievit Deus die septimo, hunc illum diem ordinavit sibi sacrum ut indicetur festus colendus a Judæis." Hessey, Sunday, Its Origin and History, p. 102. An examination of Bede's writings does not tally with this passage. True, Bede does say that the benediction and sanctification of the sabbath are typical of a still greater benediction and sanctification, but this is not opposition to the pre-Mosaic sabbath. Vid, Bede in Hexameron I Migne P. L., XCI (II) 35 sq.—In Gen II, ibid 201 sq; in Exod. XVI; XX ibid, 313, 318.

[7] Following Bede, and prior to the days of the schoolmen, there is little on this point. The writers were content to point out the mystical sense of a passage, or gave but a transitory notice to its real signification. To this category belong such writers as St. John Damascene (Expositio Fidei Orthodoxæ IV 23), Angelomanus (in Gen. Lib. II 16, 17), Maurus (Com. in Gen. IX Migne P. L., CVII 439), Bruno (Expos. in Pentateuchum, Migne P. L, CLXIV), and Rupertus (De Trinitate et Operibus ejus, Lib. II.).

of a pre-Mosaic sabbath had the question elicited any special attention in his day.[1]

More than once did St. Thomas expose the fitness of the third precept of the Decalogue. While he did not leave any categorical statement on the pre-Mosaic sabbath, he has so explained proposed difficulties as to manifest a disposition in its favor.[2] Tostatus was the first to broach the subject in its present form. In answer to the question, "Was the sabbath sanctified by God in the beginning, observed by man in the state of nature?" he gives a negative reply, thereby taking his stand on a question that has gradually developed into one of the living topics of the hour.[3]

IV. Post-Reformation Period.—Shortly after the Council of Trent, Catharinus[4] espoused the cause of a pre-Mosaic sabbath. Subsequently, Malvendus,[5] Ribera,[6] A Lapide,[7] and Lightfoot[8] adopted the same view, whilst Estius,[9] Suarez,[10] Menochius,[11] and Sylvius,[12] though less pronounced than Tostatus, incline to his position. Bonfrerius seems to favor the pre-Mosaic sabbath.[13] Pererius is more explicit; he believes that Moses appointed the day to be kept holy by the Jews,—a statement not directly at variance with the idea of a pre-Mosaic sabbath.[14]

The activity of more recent students has opened new lines of investigation. The tendency to consider Genesis as a post-exilic production and the history of creation as naught but an effort to compress eight days' labor into seven in order to popularize the narrative, naturally implies that the creation legends never had any influence in the institution of a sabbath,

[1] De Legibus IV, XX.

[2] Summa Theologica 1a 2ae, Q 100 art. VII—2a 2ae. Q 122, art. IV. No one can deny that St. Thomas insists on a special fitness in the Mosaic sabbath as commemorative of the benefits of creation, and, therefore, who can gainsay the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath grounded on the same foundation?

[3] Tostatus in Genes. II 2. 3.

[4] Catharinus, ap. Suarez in opere sex dierum. Tr. I, Lib. II, c 11.

[5] Malvendus. ap. Synopsis Criticorum, vol. I in Genes. II, 2. 3.

[6] Ribera, ibid.

[7] Cornelius a Lapide, Genes. II, 2, 3.

[8] Lightfoot, Genes. II, 2, 3.

[9] Estius, Genes. II, 2, 3.

[10] Suarez, l. c.

[11] Menochius, Gen. II, 2, 3.

[12] Sylvius, Gen. II, 2, 3.

[13] Bonfrerius, ap. Hummelauer, Gen. II, 2, 3.

[14] Pererius, ap. Lapide, l. c.

but that the sabbath, originally an Assyrian festival, inspired the present record of creation.[1] To discuss the merits of this theory would introduce a digression too lengthy for the limits of this paper. Suffice it to say that a study of the text itself is the safest preparation for a judicious appreciation of the pre-Mosaic sabbath as set forth in the inspired volume.

"And on the seventh day God ended His work which He had made, and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had done." Gen. II, 2. Various versions render this verse differently.[2] Nevertheless, the word sabbath, in the writer's mind, means to be done with.[3] Consequently the Vulgate does not signify that God continued and ended His still unfinished work on the seventh day, but that He ceased to labor at the end of the sixth day inasmuch as He then completed the creation of new species, and rested on the following day. The language is anthropomorphic and does not imply that God ceased to govern and sustain the world as well as to concur in the production of new individuals. No wonder then to hear Eusebius say that here rest does not indicate inactivity, but simply that the Creator had finished the grades and order of all creatures.[4]

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[1] Once adopted, this view would entirely destroy the value of any argument based on the second chapter of Genesis. It is sufficient to note here that in "primeval traditions (of creation) as they have come down to us in the old Chaldean form we find coincidences with the sacred narratives, and also variations from them, which indicate that while we have in no degree discovered the direct sources from which Moses derived his accounts of creation and early history of the world, we are pointed to still earlier sources common to both. What these were, however, admits of only one answer. What else could they have been than the accounts given by the common father of Shem, Ham, and Japhet before the dispersion of mankind, accounts handed thus from beyond the Flood as an heirloom of the ante-diluvian world." Geike, Hours with the Bible, Creation to Patriarchs, pp. 33, 34.

[2] The Syriac, Samaritan, and Septuagint versions read, "And on the sixth day." Theodoret, (Questiones in Gen. XXI); Dillmann, (Genesis Critically and Exegetically Examined, Eng. Trans. I, p. 89); Barrett, (Synopsis of Criticism, p. 2); Burrows, (Bibliotheca Sacra, Oct., 1856, p. 288), and Suarez, (op. c. XI, 3), consider this as an error in transcription. Dr. Haupt, Vercellone, (Variæ Lectiones Vulg. Gen. II, 2), think it correct, inasmuch as God could not have completed his work on the seventh day unless he had labored some on that day. Talmudists hold that this text was changed by the Greeks, but the better class of writers adhere to the Vulgate.

[3] Dillman, l. c., Delitzsch, New Com. in Genes., vol. I, p. 105; Lange, Genesis, p. 175; Murphy, Com. in Genesis II, p. 70. "The radical force of the word seems to have been resecare, computare, whence the meanings finire, desistere, quiescere have come." Lotz, op. c., p. 5. "The Arabians explain it in the same way. Ibid. The primary force of the work is to cease doing κατάπαυσις in contradistinction to ἀνάπαυσις, which carries with it the idea of recreation after fatigue—Vid. Exodus XXX, 17.

[4] Praeparatio Evangel. XIII, 12; Zahn, Geschichte des Sonntags, p. 10.

The Fathers frequently allude to the figurative meaning of this passage. Some say that the Jews were commanded to rest on the sabbath because it symbolized Christ's rest in the tomb after His passion and death.[1] Others liken it to man's liberation from sin and subsequent repose in God.[2] This then is the view of this portion of the text taken by the Fathers,[3] the schoolmen,[4] and a host of modern commentators.[5]

It is to no purpose therefore to say that there is a contradiction between Genesis and the Gospel of St. John, where Christ says: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work."[6] For "God is affected in the same way whether He work or rest."[7] Hence cessation from previous occupation is all that the figure implies, and is by no means incompatible with activity in other directions,[8] so that He rested, not in general, but from His work as Creator in mind and purpose,[9] that the time of rest might be defined as a day, the result of the transference of a weekly cycle to the divine activity.[10] The very network of the text itself shows that "He (God) finished His work on the sixth and rested on the seventh day."[11]

V. The Blessing of the Seventh Day.—"And He blessed the seventh day and sanctified it because in it He had rested from all His work which He hath created and made."

God is the "summum bonum," and since "bonum est sui diffusivum," God's blessing signifies a communication of divine goodness to creatures.[12] How is this verified in the present in-

[1] St. Isidore, op. c. 251; St. Augustine, Epist. CXIX, 13; St. Jerome, in Ezechielem, VI, 20; Delitzsch, ap. Spence, Genesis, p. 192.

[2] Justin, l, c.; Tertullian, Adv. Judaeos, c. 2; Procopius, in Exod. XVI; Migne, P. G. 387; Bede, Genes. II, 2, 3; Rupertus, Genes, Lib. II, 19; Exod., Lib. III, 3; A Lapide, Gen. II, 2; Suarez, l. c.

[3] Eusebius, l. c.; St. Chrysostom, l. c.; St. Jerome, l. c.; St. Augustine, Gen. ad. lit. XII; Theodoret, l. c.; Rupertus, Gen. Lib. II, 16.

[4] St. Thomas, Ia, Q. 73; Suarez, op. c. XI, 5; Sylvius, Gen. II, 2; Tostatus, l.c.

[5] Estius, l. c.; Menochius, l. c.; A Lapide, l. c.; Clericus, Gen. II, Ap. Syn. Criticorum; Dionysius Carthusianus, Lib. Sent, II, 15; Lange, op. c., p. 175; Spence, op. c., p. 35; Dillmann, l. c.; Delitzsch, l. c.; Cook, Bible Commentary, Gen., p. 37.

[6] John. VI, 17.

[7] De Civ. Dei, XII, 17.

[8] Sylvius, l. c.; Spence, l. c.

[9] St Ambrose in Hexameron, VI, 10.

[10] Dillmann, l. c.

[11] Theoderet, l. c.; St. Thomas, l. c.; Suarez, l. c.

[12] The inspired word (Gen. I, 22, 28) shows how a communication of God's goodness means that he attributes fecundity to different creatures. Lange applies this idea to the blessing of the seventh day so as to make it "give birth to all the festivals of God and men." Lange, op. c., p. 176.

stance? Does it mean that the other days were not blessed? By no means; they were blessed[1] by the creation thereon of various objects.[2] Therefore, whilst God wished the six days to be a sign of all created things "He would have the seventh, not as a day of labor, but set aside for rest from labor and fatigue as a testimony of the completion of the universe."[3] Finally blessed above other days is this one because God's blessing culminated in sanctification.[4]

VI. The Sanctification of the Seventh Day.—Frequently does the inspired volume record how God sanctified various persons or things.[5] Just as in these passages sanctification invariably specifies an object separated from all else of its kind, so was the seventh day set aside for the worship of God[6] in order to afford man an opportunity to devote himself to God's service in a more special manner on this day than on the other six. Singular again is the seventh day inasmuch as the narrative does not contain the concluding formula used in the history of the other days. For this, Dillmann has, perhaps, advanced the most satisfactory reason. "The formula," says he, "is wanting, not, as it were because this day is to be designed as a day without an evening, an endless day whereby it would lose its character of the human sabbath, but because the narrative is at an end, there is no transition made to a farther day, and even its designation as the seventh day has been anticipated."[7]

VII. Reason of the Sanctification.—God sanctified the seventh day that it might stand as a memorial of His wonderful works. Therefore did the Almighty invest this day with a special and distinct consecration both retrospective and pro-

[1] Chrysostom, Hom. X in Genes. Procopius of Gaza, Genes. II.

[2] Bonfrerius and Pererius say that the seventh day was blessed because the other days of the week are therefrom numbered. Lamy, Com. in Gen. p. 173.

[3] Procopius, Genes. II 3.

[4] Bede in Hexameron, Lib. II 36; Sylvius, Gen. II 3; Estius, l. c.; Suarez, l. c.

[5] Thus did God speak of the first born, (Exod. XIII 2). Mt. Sinai (Exod. XIX 23), the Tabernacle, (Exod. XXIX, 44) the Levites (ibid), the first fruits, (Numbers XVIII, 8) the Jubilee year (Levit. XXV, 10).

[6] Theodoret, l. c.; Chrysostom, l. c.: Tostatus, l. c.; Menochius, l, c.; Clericus, l. c., Murphy, l. c., Spence, l. c., Tappehorn, Erklärung der Genesis, p. 54; Dillmann, l. c., Cook, l. c., Delitzsch, l. c.

[7] Though Dillmann's exposition is sound, his allusion to St. Augustine's words (Conf. Lib. XIII, 36) is uncalled for because Augustine speaks figuratively representing the sabbath as the harbinger of eternal peace and rest. Julinius makes use of the same figure. Julinius ap. Catena Lippomani, Gen. II, 3.

spective, because on it he had entered into rest.[1] The Jews "were commanded to set aside the seventh day as sacred to divine worship. If forgetfulness of God should overtake them, they would, by the very fact of taking rest, be led to the memory of Him who did all things, and who rested on the seventh day."[2] No one could presume that it would be a fruitless day, a day to be ridiculed or despised,[3] but all could understand how rest of mind and heart transcend bodily labor and fatigue and contribute "to the development and perfection of spiritual things."[4]

VIII. TIME OF THE SANCTIFICATION.—This point is hotly disputed; controversy will continue until the question receives a definite answer. As a matter of fact some say that there was no sanctification whatsoever at the end of creation;[5] other some that it was simply anticipatory of what took place in the course of ages, so that God hallowed the seventh day at the close of creation, "non actu et reipsa, sed decreto et destinatione sua";[6] while still another class claims that God sanctified the day at the very dawn of history.[7] Whatever be the merits of the first two positions, they are less firmly grounded than the last. The idea underlying them is the absence of any sabbath until the legislator of Israel descended from Sinai with the tables of the law. True, explicit enactment then incorporated the sabbath in the category of positive institutions, but is it logical to argue that every trace of a pre-Mosaic sabbath is thereby precluded? Surely amongst the primitive inhabitants of the globe there could have been a sacred seventh day, divested, it is true, of legal dignity and splendor, yet more in harmony with the condition of its observers. To look for an exact parallelism between the pre-Mosaic sabbath and that of Sinai, is to borrow much of the misunderstanding which characterizes a goodly sum of the utterances on this question.[8]

[1] Delitzsch, l. c.
[2] Procopius, l. c.
[3] Theodoret, l. c.
[4] St. Chrysostom, l. c.
[5] Tostatus, l. c.; Sylvius, l. c.
[6] Suarez, l. c.; Jerome, l, c.; Pererius, ap. Suarez, l. c.; Menochius, l. c.
[7] Eucherius, ap. Catena Lippomani, l. c.; Theodoret, l. c.; Chrysostom, l. c.; William of Paris, op. c. IV.
[8] Catharinus, ap. Suarez, l. c.; Ribera, Malvendus, ap. Synopsis Crit. l.c.; Bouquillon, Theol. Fund. p. 230. Lamy, op. c. p. 175. Sabbath Essays, p. 193.

To grant that some features of the sabbath indicate an intimate relation to the Jews,[1] is not sufficient ground for asserting that it was confined to them alone. The Lord of the sabbath was God of Jew and Gentile. Consequently, while He may not have issued any decree pertaining to the observance of a sabbath in primitive times, the example of His own repose "suggested to man a seventh day rest with suitable worship thereon."[2] And then what greater difficulty is there in allowing the necessity of a special revelation here than in the case of many other institutions whose existence is unquestioned, and which could never have been living realities unless God had revealed them to man.

Moreover, no one will contend that the obvious meaning of a passage is always correct; yet when the terms are unequivocal and the subject-matter easily understood, to assume the more recondite for the patent sense demands a serious reason. In this chapter of Genesis Moses makes an historical statement. Now, does he describe the work of creation in its chronological order, and then record an event which took place only twenty-five hundred years later? Is it reasonable to presume that he would have added the words in question unless they referred to a fact closely connected with the previous portion of the history? Nor could he have more clearly conveyed the idea that God blessed and sanctified the seventh day than by stating it in close proximity to the Creator's rest, an event which it was destined to commemorate. True, "he assigns the reason of the sanctification,[3] but his purpose is to show that as the reason existed from the beginning so also did the investiture of the day with special prerogatives.[4] Finally, the candor and simplicity of the narrative make this a part of the creation history fully as much as any other, and do away with any theory alleging that the sabbath was an afterthought.[5] Had Moses discredited the idea of a creation sabbath, he would have warned us against misinterpreting the passage.

[1] Deuteronomy, V, 12–16.

[2] S. Eucherius, l. c. Lapide, l. c. Philo, Ribera, Catharinus, ap. Synopsis Crit., l. c. Bonfrerius, Malvendus, ap. Hummelauer, Gen. II 2, 3. Kurtz, History of the Old Covenant, III 38. Murphy, l. c. Taylor Lewis, ap. Lange, op. c., p. 197. Delitzsch, l. c., Lange, op. c., 177. Bouquillon, op. c., p. 230.

[3] Paley, l. c.

[4] Vaughan, *Dublin Review*, January 1883, p. 43.

[5] Bishop Clifford, *Dublin Review*, 1881, p. 311 sq.

This he never did, and consequently he would have us look upon the sabbath of Eden and that of Sinai as different phases of one and the same institution.

What strikes one most forcibly in the opposition of modern writers is that they fail to realize the full bearing of their own arguments. Nearly all of them have based arguments on the moral necessity of worship. No matter how freely they combat a pre-Mosaic sabbath they are too clever to deny man's obligation to devote some time, even a periodically recurring portion, to God's service, and inferentially to rest from worldly occupations as a condition necessary to discharge this duty. In spite of this they restrict the sabbath to a particular people. Certainly, if it be necessary among any people, it is, in a measure, necessary for all, because the needs of one nation are but a special form of the needs of all.

More striking still is the species of reasoning employed by Hessey when he speaks about the abrogation of the Jewish sabbath. "The political and ceremonial elements may be abolished, the moral remaining and being developed by Christianity."[1] If this reasoning has any value here it is equally strong against him in his position toward the pre-Mosaic sabbath. For once granted that Christianity preserves the moral elements with a variation in the ceremonial there is every reason to believe that the same could have taken place in a less perfect way in the early ages of the world's history. Many grant the one; few admit the other. Furthermore, positive law did not enjoin Sunday observance prior to Constantine. And yet Hessey, amongst many others, is a staunch advocate of an Apostolic Sunday. If Sunday was set aside among early Christians without positive legislation, why deny that the patriarchs kept the sabbath though there was no positive decree to that effect?

The same school considers the Creator's rest as exemplary and consolatory. God labored six days; He rested on the seventh. Man, say they, should imitate this example. How strange to reason this way, and, at the same time, to insist that upwards of two thousand years had rolled by before man

[1] Hessey, op. c., p. 18; Dale, Ten Commandments, p. 8; Heylin, Works, Part I, c. 4, p. 348.

began to realize the lesson herein contained. The reason for appointing this day, "because in it He had rested," appeals to man's intelligence, and intimates that he must have known and observed a sacred time. The opponents of a pre-Mosaic sabbath grant that he knew the reason in the beginning; that he kept holy the day seems to follow from this concession.

Lastly, to hold that the sabbath was the outgrowth of Mosaic legislation and nothing else, is to contend that the Jews were not stiff-necked and conservative. To take such a stand is to close one's eyes to the early history of the Christian Church. Among such a people Moses could never have introduced an institution entirely novel. No doubt his legislative code contains traces of foreign influence; for, schooled in Egypt,[1] the natural effect of his environment made itself felt in his dealings with Israel. And so Genesis gives the first link in the chain of evidence conspiring to prove the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath. Another step must now be made in the examination of the sixteenth chapter of Exodus.

IX. Sixteenth Chapter of Exodus.—According to a few critics the institution of the sabbath is here recorded.[2] Those who share Hessey's view consider the chapter valueless in this particular matter.[3] By far the larger number of eminent writers see herein the revival of an old institution.[4] The very turn of the historian's thought shows how he intends to insist on the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath. First of all, he relates how God proposed a triple test of obedience to the chosen people as well as a rule of action which such a test naturally demands.[5] Special reference is made to the sabbath in the third.[6] Two points are emphasized, namely: the He-

[1] Acts VII, 22.

[2] Talmud-Grotius, ap. Synopsis Crit. Vol. I, Exod. XVI. Maimonides, Guide des Egarés, Part III, 22.

[3] Paley, l. c. Heylen, l. c. Hessey, op. c. pp. 111, 112.

[4] Theodoret, Questiones in Exod. 232. A Lapide, Exod. XVI. Lightfoot, Exod. XVI. Rivetus, ap. Syn. Crit. Vol. I, Exod. XVI. Kurtz, l. c. Delitzsch, Pentateuch II, p. 69; Cook op. c. p. 37.

[5] Rupertus, Exod. Lib. III; Lange, Exod. p. 2; Delitzsch, op. c. II, p. 63; Hummelauer in Exod., p. 174.

[6] "And the seventh day came, and some of the people going forth to gather found none. And the Lord said to Moses: How long will you refuse to keep my commandments and my law? See that the Lord had given you the sabbath, and for this reason, on the sixth day he giveth you a double portion; let each man stay at home and let none go forth out of his place the seventh day. And the people kept the sabbath on the seventh day." Exod. XVI, 27-30.

brews distributed the days of the week and observed a sacred seventh day, "not indeed by a law strictly speaking divine."[1] However vigorous adverse criticism may be, its authors hesitate to accuse Moses of inserting these facts merely to anticipate a future ordinance. Nevertheless, they strive to undermine the value of the narrative by asserting that the proclamation of sabbath observance was previously communicated to Moses, and by him made known to Israel. They forget, however, that not a line in the whole chapter points to the institution at this juncture, though some would have here the culmination of a statute.[2] Moreover, the absence in this place of any direct reference to its institution, supposes an existing ordinance so well known as to render explicit mention unnecessary.[3] The ellipsis, if any, would have been supplied by alluding to the ancient practice of keeping holy the sabbath day. The writer's silence, therefore, throws us back on the primeval institution of the sabbath as the only solution of what would otherwise prove an inexplicable omission. Moreover, "God bestowed this gift (the manna) in such a manner that the sabbath was sanctified by it and the way was thereby opened for its sanctification by the law."[4] What better plan could Moses adopt to show that the sabbath, not yet a legalized ordinance, was already known?[5]

The rest of the chapter adds strength to this position.[6] Anxious to weaken it, some claim that "To-morrow is the rest, etc.," were God's words.[7] But how do they reach this conclusion? God had never made such a declaration. Neither did he directly refer to the sabbath in his previous intercourse with Israel's leader, nor did Moses himself announce a new statute. The words are "simply an explanation given by Moses," alluding to an already established institution, and hence he

[1] Hummelauer, op c. p. 175.
[2] Paley, l. c.; Heylin, l. c.; Dale l. c.
[3] Rupertus, l. c.
[4] Delitzsch, Pentateuch, II, 62. Lange, l. c.
[5] Lange writes in this same strain.
[6] On the sixth day they gathered twice as much, *i. e.*, two gomers every man: And the rulers of the multitude came and told Moses. And he said to them: This is what the Lord hath said, To-morrow is the rest of the sabbath sanctified to the Lord. Whatever work is to be done, do it; and the meats that are to be dressed, dress them; and whatsoever shall remain lay it up until morning. Exod. XVI, 22-23.
[7] Paley, op. c. V, 6; Hessey, op. c., p. 106; Cook, op. c. II, 46; Thorndike, Laws of the Church, IV, 493.

specifies the way to dispose of superabundant manna in order to ensure a proper observance of the sacred day. Why then did the rulers address Moses? Their inquiry was provoked, not so much because there was no fall of manna on the sabbath, as because every tent throughout the whole camp had a double supply on that day.[1] And God Himself so made known this incident as to show that it was not anticipated by the people; for they were to prepare that which they brought in on the sixth day, and it would be twice as much as they gathered daily. This reads like the statement of a fact, not the publication of an édict, else it would be no easy task to justify Moses for withholding the statute according to the insinuation in the narrative.[2] The very purpose of the miracle favors this view. For why did God give manna on the sabbath? "Cum illis solis lege praescripsisset quiescere die sabbati, docuit illos ipso facto servare preceptum.[3]" Long had the sabbath been a dead letter.[4] God will now revive it, and "prepare the way to give it a legal character amongst the chosen people.[5] To this end He sanctioned its observance by a miraculous event.[6] Thus understood, no one is surprised to hear Moses cry out: To-morrow is the sabbath of the Lord; whereas, if it be regarded as aught else than the restoration of a neglected institution, ample reason there is for surprise.

This gives the key to the connection between the beginning and end of the narrative. Despite the directions enjoined, the seventh day came, "and some of the people going forth found none. And the Lord said to Moses: How long will you refuse to keep my commandments and my law?" Sylvius holds that commandments here signify prescriptions concerning the manna, whereas law means the sabbath itself.[7] Evidently the test was too much for the Jews. They profaned the sabbath, and the phrase "how long" implies a familiarity of more

[1] Whatever may be said about the naturalness of this product in Arabia, the circumstances of the case demand supernatural intervention. Vid. Sylvius, Exod. XVI; Hummelauer, op. c. 174; Smith, Bible Dict, p. 2704; Hessey, op. c., p. 111; Lange, l. c.; Delitzsch, op. c. II, 63; Cook, op. c., p. 319.

[2] Cook gives a slightly different view. Vid. op. c. 319.

[3] Theodoret in Exod., Q. 32. Delitzsch, Pentateuch, II, 67.

[4] Lightfoot, Exod. XVI; Lapide, Exod. XVI; Von Jhering holds that Israel observed the sabbath even in Egypt. Vid. Les Indo-Européens avant L'histoire.

[5] Kurtz. op. c. III, 38; Rivetus, ap. Syn. Critic. Exod. XVI. Spencc, l. c.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Sylvius, Exod. XVI.

than transitory duration, else propriety of diction is violated. In a word the style of the account bespeaks acquaintance with the sabbath as an established fact. The chosen people asked no questions about its meaning, why it existed, how to keep it, what were its advantages,—questions which a new institution would surely have evoked.

X. SACRIFICE AND A PRE-MOSAIC SABBATH.—The Bible outlines another trace of a pre-Mosaic sabbath in relating how the early descendants of Adam sacrificed to the living God. The history of Cain and Abel points in that direction. More clearly still is the idea unfolded when it is written that "men began to call upon the name of the Lord."[1] Mambre, Bethel, Sichem, Bersabee typify the progress and development of the idea among the Hebrews. Now "sacrifices, as a means of worshipping God and professing faith in the Messiah, were not the suggestion of human wisdom, but were offered on account of divine institution."[2] This involves a revelation, which would emphasize man's duty and lead him to set aside stated times for public worship. All the more reasonable in this when note is taken of the fact that in the Hebrew religion God is not equally near at all times and places."[3] Therefore "solemn adoration of public worship must have had a beginning at some special time."[4] God revealed the necessity of sacrifice ; He approved sacred places : His rest at the end of creation was probably an indication as to the time in which He desired to be publicly worshipped. The nature of society and social worship require a fixed time. This was particularly true of the Hebrews because their manner of life naturally led them to observe times and seasons. They would, therefore, be inclined to determine a time for publicly testifying their allegiance to the Creator of all things. In fine, the sacredness of the number seven[5] and the custom of marking time by periods of seven days, taken in the connection with the foregoing facts, inevitably lead to the presumption that the day appointed for public religious worship was none other than the seventh day.

[1]Gen. IV. All modern writers find here the inauguration of public worship. Vid. St. Thomas, Summa 1a, 2ae, Q 103, A 1 ; Tostatus, Exod. XIX.—Menochius, Exod. p. 37; Malvendus, ap. Syn. Crit. I, 399.—Lapide in Exod.—Sylvius, Exod., XIX.—Calmet, Exod.—Danko, op. c. I, 20.—Dillman, op. c., 209.—Delitzsch, Genesis, p. 264.—Hummelauer, Exod. p. 3.

[2]Danko, l. c. [3]Smith, Religion of the Semites, p. 116. [4]Dillman, l. c.

[5]Treated more fully in a subsequent chapter.

XI. Silence of the Sacred Writers.—Those who deny the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath appeal to the absence of "even the obscurest allusion to it from its mention in the creation record until the sojourn of the Hebrews in the wilderness." [1] This long protracted silence might cause surprise did not a little reflection greatly modify it. For the entire history of twenty-five centuries is compressed into the space of an ordinary sixty-page pamphlet, so that the bare skeleton of events belonging to that period is presented.[2] The points most likely to be passed over in silence are those most familiar to all concerned. More than this, solemnly though the sabbath had been promulgated amid the glories of Sinai, the same majestic silence marks its progress from the death of Moses to that of David.[3] The history of Judges, Samuel, Saul contain no allusion to it.[4]

Instances of silence equally as striking as that of the sabbath are afforded by the sacred text itself dealing with other points of historical interest. Do we not find the like silence regarding sacrifices, though it is generally conceded that they were offered soon after the fall? The Bible records the sacrifice of Abel and never again alludes to sacrificial acts until Noe erected an altar after the deluge.[5] Circumcision, a rite singularly Jewish, is not mentioned from the time of Joshua's entrance into the promised land until the circumcision of John

Note.—Many appeal to the unique formulation of the third commandment as evidence of the existence of a sacred seventh day prior to Moses. Their argument rests on the use of the word "remember," which can add little to the merit of any theory. And yet its wide-spread application calls for passing notice. "This," says Bishop Beveridge, "is the only commandment that we are particularly required to remember. The reason is because all the others were written at first on the tables of our hearts, engraven in our very nature, so that we may have a connatural sense of them upon our minds; and therefore cannot be said properly to remember but rather to feel them. But this is a positive precept given to man after he was made, and conveyed by external revelation of God who commands us to remember it." Moreover these writers say that the injunction to remember is grounded on these reasons: God rested from his work; He blessed and sanctified the seventh day. The past tense of the verb (He rested) is used. "God rested" surely dates from the creation. Evidently there is more weight in this argument than in the previous one. Conf. Wood, Sabbath Essays, p. 193; Edersheim, Bible History, II, 29, 30. Love, Bibliotheca Sacra, Oct. 1879, p. 747; Beveridge, Works, II 80.

[1] Paley, op. c. Book V, 7. Lewis says: To object that the Bible in its few brief memoranda of their (patriarchs') lives, says nothing about their sabbath keeping . . . is a worthless argument. Conf. Lange, Genesis, 197.

[2] Cook, l. c. [3] 426 years.

[4] Prof. Phelps calculated that the sabbath is mentioned in the Scripture only four times from the days of Moses to the return from Babylonian captivity,—some one thousand years or more. Conf. Phelps, Perpetuity of the Sabbath, p. 3.

[5] 1,650 years.

the Baptist.[1] And yet no one questions the existence of these institutions during the periods of silence; why gainsay the existence of the sabbath during a similar period?

XII. THE SEPTENARY NUMBER AMONGST THE JEWS.—The absence of explicit statements about sabbath observance during the period specified is not sufficient reason to assert that the inspired writer says nothing to hint at the existence of a sabbath in remote antiquity. For the Bible relates how Cain and Abel selected their respective offerings and brought them to a common altar.[2] This event is said to have taken place at the end of days, an expression implying a fixed, definite time for men to assemble and acknowledge their dependence on the Supreme Being. The more minute account of the deluge contains still more specific references of the same kind.[3] In fine, the history of the early patriarchs bespeaks more than a passing acquaintance with a week of seven days. Jacob and Laban refer to the week as a seven of days so as to leave the impression that it must have been an institution of long standing.[4] And when Jacob died, Joseph and his brethren, together with many Egyptians, mourned him seven days.[5]

In these passages the sense is real, but the number seven had also a mystical meaning.[6] What could have given prominence to the number seven in pre-Mosaic days unless the blessing and sanctification of the seventh day? Exodus contains an almost unquestionable allusion to a sabbath day. For Moses calls upon Pharaoh to allow Israel to go into the desert and sacrifice to their God. The king's answer is well known; he ordered the task-masters to increase the labors of the Israelites, and thus prevent them from keeping holy the sabbath day.[7]

To sum up, though no separate passage of the inspired writings will suffice to prove the existence of a pre-Mosai sabbath, still the cumulative force of the arguments deduced from Holy Writ tends to show that there must have been a sabbath before the Sinaitic legislation. The reasonableness of this inference will appear more clearly in the light of septenary institutions whose existence will presently form the subject-matter of examination. (Conclusion in next number.)

[1] 1,450 years. [2] Gen. IV, 3, 4. [3] Gen. VII, 4, 10. VIII, 10, 12.
[4] Gen. XXIX, 27, 28. Proctor holds that the seven-day week was the basis of all contracts pertaining to labor, because seven days was the ordinary term of engagement. *Contemporary Review*. June, 1879, p. 411. [5] Gen. L 10.
[6] Gen. IV 15, 24; XXXIII 3; XLI 2–7, 25–30. XLVII 53, 54. [7] Exod. VI 6.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

There is much truth in the saying that one-half of the world does not know how the other half lives. We might recast the phrase to the effect that one social class does not know how another lives. With obvious limitations it thus expresses one of the most interesting phenomena which the sociologist meets.

Each social group has its own peculiar traditions, prejudices, practices, points of view, and philosophy of life, the result of a slow evolution or growth, and representing the net product of the experiences through which the group has passed during its continuous life. These traditions are shared in varying degrees by members, understood and appreciated by them in different ways, but always exercising a strange and enduring power over a majority, and by holding them together lending unity and strength to their association. If even a member of a group may misunderstand its traditions and spirit, and he certainly may, an outsider will not often rightly measure or grasp the true meaning and force which they possess.

When the group is of little importance, representing no great issue in life, it is less difficult to understand it and thereby do it justice. But when a group includes vast numbers and represents vital interests affecting those outside as well as those within, when its roots are deep and its life intense, the degree to which misunderstanding, partisanship and even frenzy may develop is a puzzle, if not a mystery. A group which reacts upon our own lives and affects our interests adversely is doubly hard to understand, so much can our interests color our views of truth. It has well been said that if the theorems of Euclid affected the distribution of property directly, no one of them would have escaped denial. All that bigotry implies, as far as it is of interest to the sociologist, rests upon the misunderstanding of the points of view and philos-

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ophy entertained by a religious body. It is commonplace that a foreigner rarely understands the institutions and spirit of a people that he visits. Only with extreme difficulty can a man of the North understand our negro problem, simply because he does not see it from the point of view of the actors in the conditions where the problem exists. Those not acquainted with what is termed society have not by any means, a correct appreciation of the ideals, prejudices, points of view, and philosophy which reign there. They cannot understand the tragedies due to trifles, the ambitions which would overturn the universe and ignore God to gain mere nothings, the heartaches caused by disappointments—all trifles in themselves, but of tremendous importance to those who accept the shallow philosophy from which they spring and attempt to shape their lives according to its principles.

It is not enough to know literally what is said or written about the views and ideals of any vital social group. One must provisionally accept views, traditions, prejudices—all in fact—and set aside from consideration the effect that these may have on the group of which one is a member, if one would correctly understand. They are to the group the sources of being, life, action and inspiration.

The laboring class is a social group. In spite of differences of race, religion, profession ; in spite of the fact that on all sides it merges into other classes without revealing the practical line of differentiation, it has its philosophy, its spirit, its views—all distinctive and probably more clearly defined than those of any other vital group in society.

It occupies a central position in our economic life, it includes vast numbers of wage earners ; hence it is practically the fundamental group of human society. By common consent it is so regarded. On all sides we are meeting the admission that the next step in human progress must be the uplifting of this class ; the introduction of a healthy idealism into its life, the satisfaction of its just demands for a larger share in modern culture. Not alone that. The irresistible trend of things is leading us in that direction, whether or not we wish

it. A century ago the third estate won effective recognition; the present century has seen the rapid advance of the fourth, and the signs of the times indicate as yet no retrogression. It is more or less a matter of indifference how far our speculative knowledge may increase in the next fifty years; it is important for human progress that the laboring class be aided to a fairer realization of the promises which civilization makes to it.

The philosophy, the points of view and the feelings of the laboring class have come to clear expression in what is termed the Labor Movement. Those of the laboring class whose minds have reached definite and settled views regarding the condition of labor and its rights, organize, formulate demands, and take steps to make those demands effective. Though only a minority of wage earners in the United States is organized—approximately one million out of a total of fifteen million[1]—the class idea is fairly well defined and the labor movement may be taken as thoroughly representative of the laboring class.[2] It is more easily studied than is the class, since it is a conscious, self-directing organization.

Broadly speaking, there are many phases of the movement, each of which represents either different problems, unlike views of the same problems or contrary methods of reform. Socialists, organizations of agricultural laborers, farmers' unions, trades unions either favoring or opposing political action are the chief elements in the general movement. In its narrower sense, the phrase "labor movement" is commonly applied to what we may call representative trade unionism, that is, organizations of industrial laborers whose purpose is to improve the condition of labor. They aim to accomplish this by securing shorter hours, better wages, better and safer conditions in the factory, protection for women and children, and the like.

But the general purpose of the movement is deeper. It is to secure the establishment of economic justice primarily, and

[1] A writer in the *American Federationist* of December, 1898, distributes the number as follows: American Federation of Labor, 60 per cent.; Railroad Brotherhood, 10 per cent.; local building organizations, 10 per cent.; Knights of Labor and others, 20 per cent.

[2] *Votez pour votre classe* is the brief but powerful appeal to laboring men that one sees in election times in France.

secondarily to help on a development of society along ethical, intellectual, social, legal, and political lines, which will insure to the laboring class the greatest opportunity for mental and moral elevation.

In working toward this end, the movement is hampered. Its position is one of difficulty, and it is naturally inclined to faults which reduce its power for good. Its nature and economic justification are misunderstood; it is to an extent the victim of adverse circumstances, and it meets various obstacles in the laboring class itself. We wish in this article to point out some of the difficulties which the labor movement meets in this condition; difficulties which, once understood in the movement and beyond it, might in a great measure be successfully met and removed.[1] Though most of them rest ultimately on the difficulty of understanding the traditions and spirit of a social group which represents material interests, it is best to view them first independently.

The labor movement is a reaction along class lines. In its origin there was more of instinctive feeling than of reason and philosophy. Though these latter have won recognition, feeling plays still too important a role. This being the case, the position and the character of the movement are defined. In the two it has serious difficulties.

a) It represents a class which is suffering under institutions long established and cherished on account of the principles they represent. Labor must carry on, practically, a warfare to win recognition for rights which it holds sacred. And every right must go through the same painful process of denial, discussion, recognition, legal sanction, transfer to public conscience. Each victory thus won implies an encroachment upon the heretofore recognized rights of another class, which is naturally inclined to use all available means to protect its interests. Shorter hours, sanitary conditions in factories, prompt payment of wages, protection of women and of children, Sunday rest—no sooner is one issue fought out and won

[1] Since we confine our observations to tendencies rather than facts it cannot be expected that we take note of every fact which may seem to contradict general statements made. One fact whose trend is with a tendency in society is stronger than ten which make against it.

than another must be taken up. The struggle is unequal. When we forget this we fail to understand the enormous task that labor aims to perform; we fail to see and to understand the heroism, hopefulness, and power, which must be in the movement.

b) The movement is inclined to take false views of the nature of social laws, social problems, and progress. It looks at conditions, and regarding only facts isolated, it fails to note the complex system of which they are part, and it does not see the long, slow evolution of which they are the product. Then it sees reform in mere facts, in specific measures. It demands such and forgets the need of adjustment, of growth. The exclusion of children and women from factories, the reduction of working hours to eight, or any other such measure might really imply a readjustment of international trade relations. This is by no means an easy task. Labor is more like the old time physician who diagnosed cases and treated them, than like the modern doctor, who looks to the evolution and history of a case first.

That there is a decided tendency to give justice to workingmen does not satisfy labor. It will not be satisfied with any tendency, though to speak with Emerson, a tendency alone can satisfy the soul. The progress of the century in protecting labor's rights is not cited as a cause of hope, a source of joy. Traditional complaints and incriminations are retained. Increased demands meet improved conditions, so that relatively to demands little progress is made. The standard of life is being constantly improved; that, too, is forgotten, and again, labor cannot see the absolute tendency toward amelioration which exists. This mistaken attitude toward progress and reform engenders in many a suspicion that labor is not in good faith in its agitation, and this is a true obstacle to the pursuit of its mission.

c) Another tendency which may be seen in the labor movement is toward remembering rights and forgetting duties. The keenness of the sufferings of many in the laboring class, the cold-blooded manner in which man was put on a level with the machine, the absence of humane relations between employer and laborer, naturally favored a development of the sense of

rights violated and retarded the growth of any sense of personal duty. The social system or the capitalist is blamed indiscriminately for the ills from which labor suffers; individual fault or perversity is overlooked. We do not often find in the labor press or the general agencies of the development of the labor movement, any effective appeals to working men to do their duty to God, family, employer; to live up to the ideals of temperance, chastity, self-mastery and industry.[1] With a terrible persistence wrongs are held before the laboring men till moral strength is greatly reduced and the sense of responsibility weakened. It would be strange were it otherwise, mistake though it be. The movement comes from a sense of wrongs. All children of reactions are born blind, though they may be made to see.

The difficulties or mistakes referred to seem to result from the failure of labor to understand the genesis of its movement, to know its own tendencies, and to exercise a serene self-mastery. Again reminding the reader that we are studying tendencies rather than facts, we may briefly review other classes of difficulties equally the source of trouble for the movement.

First, a series of misunderstandings. *a*) The historical necessity and economic justification of the labor movement are misunderstood. The protecting hand of authority was withdrawn from labor in the name of political philosophy and economic progress just at the time when the modern laboring class was being formed and was most exposed. Industrial life became largely a battle among the strong, who used the weak, unprotected laboring class as victims. But simultaneously, laboring men were winning political freedom and the right of association. It was inevitable that they should organize for protection. Then it seemed to labor that not only man, but machinery as well, was its enemy. Increasing division of labor and corresponding perfection of machinery seemed to be a

[1] This statement requires some limitations. Appeals for devotion to duty, self-discipline frequently appear in some labor journals. They are, however, contributed to the women's department and emanate from them. Trades unions generally make moral elevation one of their aims, but we refer here chiefly to the practical life of the movement. In it the tendency described is quite clear.

menace, to increase labor's dependence on a hostile employing class. Every advance in the evolution of machinery made reconciliation with the laboring class necessary again, for it implied a readjustment of relations, and this seemed to imply at least temporary disadvantage for the working men. In those facts and impressions the laboring class found inspiration toward organization. The solid justification of the effort of labor to protect itself by organization is seemingly not understood. First, legislators seem to misunderstand when they grant such scanty legal recognition to trade unions; secondly, the courts seem to misunderstand when they use the injunction in the arbitrary manner that has marked recent history, and so easily admit the charge of constructive conspiracy against trade unions which are in conflict with employers.

Thirdly, employers seem to misunderstand when they refuse to deal in any way with labor organizations or when they antagonize them. The union scale of wages is repudiated as a presumption, union conditions in work ignored, union dictation scorned. When an employer takes such an attitude—happily the majority do not—it may be traced to its cause easily. If the union makes demands that cannot be granted, the opposition that such a course truly merits is frequently misdirected against the organization of labor on principle. When demands are just, an employer, who forgets the social character of his industry and the social obligations of his position, will resist labor organizations simply because he is selfish and blind to facts. The root of the trouble is deep. He stands for the principle that labor is a commodity and it should be paid for as raw cotton or iron ore, while the labor organization contends that labor is human, that man is more than things, that he shall have a share in the profits of industry comporting with his dignity as man and with his rights. This radical difference in the two positions adds greatly to the burden that organized labor must carry, for it makes necessary the struggle for existence itself. The laws allow associations of working men; the courts must recognize them as allowed, while the employer has it in his power to nullify any good effect they might have. We find that between 1881 and 1886 there were in the United States 667 strikes, the chief

purpose of each of which was to win recognition for trade unions from employers.

b) Labor has sacred rights and grievous wrongs. They are frequently misunderstood by the labor movement itself, and more frequently by those outside of it.

The right to work, to a fair salary, the right to marry, to the enjoyment of proper home life are primordial, yet they can be defined with extreme difficulty. They are poorly protected in our social organization. Implying correlative obligations either in society or in individuals, the problem of adjusting institutions in a way to protect them adequately, seems to defy solution. The mediæval guilds seemed to recognize those rights, some of them at least, more clearly than we do, yet, even in them, we note defects. It is not certain that unskilled laborers were at all protected. In fact the opinion is suggested by Webb[1] that the guild organization did not extend to unskilled labor at all. Even those most friendly to labor can not exactly define their positions. The Holy Father, in his encyclical on The Condition of Labor, recognizes the right of the laborer to a family salary, but innumerable discussions divide men when the practical phase of the matter is taken up. Between 1887 and 1897 there were 1,639 laws enacted in the United States affecting labor, all reducible to a few basic principles and to about forty-three lines of action. Of the whole number 1,639, 114 specific statutes were declared unconstitutional by the courts. Of the forty-three lines of action followed, the constitutionality of twenty-three is in doubt. We have in that, an illustration of the difficulty which is met in trying to translate the natural rights of labor into positive law.[2] We have labor, therefore, struggling to establish its rights. The rights are extremely difficult to define, and it is almost impossible to incorporate them into a law which will effectually protect them.

Not only in questions of right, but as well in matter of fact we have the same vagueness, equal uncertainty. The relation

[1] History of Trade Unionism, p. 37.

[2] Democracy and the Laboring Man. F. J. Stimson. *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1897. This does not imply that in a given condition the rights of labor or of man to work may not be recognized effectually. Numberless instances may be found as, e. g., when Clement VII and Sixtus IV formally recognized the rights of the poor to the land as against large holders Yet such attempts may be failures as were *les ateliers nationaux* of 1848 in France.

of immigration to labor, the effect of high or low tariff upon working men, the actual economic social effect of trusts, the relation of efficiency in labor to long or short hours, are all questions of fundamental importance. As long as they remain the topics of discussion, so long will this vagueness constitute a serious difficulty.

c) The principles, aims, methods of the movement are misunderstood. The principles are few and simple. The interests of all laborers are identical and opposed to those of the capitalist class.[1] Amelioration will come only by self help, through organization and action. It must come by peaceful means. The aims of the movement are equally definite,—to render the laboring class strong, self-conscious; to win formal recognition of the organization of labor, to improve the economic condition of laborers; to educate, refine, and emancipate them.[2]

The methods employed are the logical result of the foregoing; unrelenting opposition to non-union working men, the boycott, the union label, and the strike. They are the chief methods which are peculiarly the weapon of the trade union. In addition it attempts to affect legislation, to shape public opinion and the like.[3]

Those methods are the natural outcome of trade unionism. It would be beside the question to observe that they are frequently carried to excess; that time and again organized labor has been guilty of gross injustice and extravagant assumptions. Such has been the case,[4] but that cannot justify one in misunderstanding the trade union position.

Resting on these misunderstandings, we find a serious and wide-spread prejudice against unions, which penetrates nearly

[1] This refers to the historical relations of the two classes, since in the economic process such could not be the case. Working men find at times that to act on this principle too freely brings disaster upon themselves, as was the case in Fourmies in France, where they drove industry away and all but ruined the city. In some parts of Europe efforts are made to unite laborer and employer into one association.

[2] It would be hard to determine just what is meant by emancipation. Labor regards its actual condition as that of economic slavery, but the actual form which emancipation would take is not clear. The poet Burns has given very strong expression to this feeling in his dirge, "Man was made to Mourn."

[3] The union label is employed to mark goods manufactured where union labor is employed. Laboring men and the general public are appealed to and asked to purchase only such. Firms which antagonize unions are termed "unfair," lists are published in the labor press and the public is asked to boycott them.

[4] It has been necessary to enact laws protecting non-union men against the coercion of unions.

every circle of society, not excepting learned circles. Some never hear of unions except when there is a strike. Looking through the strike will never discover the heart of the movement. Others confound anarchy and labor organization, forgetting that there can be sacred rights which must be won by effort, and that the capitalist sinned long before labor made a step to protect itself. Many come to regard trade unionism as popular organized mob impudence without a semblance of justification.

Difficulties are met in the laboring class itself and in the very ranks of organized labor.

a) One-fifteenth of the wage earners of the United States is organized.[1] In the vast majority not organized there is much indifference and even opposition to the movement. It may be that pure selfishness explains the indifference in part. Organization implies restriction of personal liberty to a considerable extent, for one must be governed by union conditions; it implies financial burdens which the workers may not care to assume. Then in as far as laboring men are prosperous they may feel no need of organization. This apathy is a serious difficulty, and when it is replaced by antagonism the difficulty is greatly increased. Not only must the Labor Movement lose its energy in trying to educate the laborers to the class idea and draw them into organizations, but this condition robs it of the power to carry its ideas into effect. There is little efficacy in organization when ten non-union men stand ready to replace every unionist who may complain.

b) No little evil results to the movement from the fact that the ranks of organized labor harbor bitter dissensions. To attempt to unite into a harmonious whole men of all religions, professions, views, temperaments; men whose interests seem to be actually antagonistic; men of skilled technical training, and men of no training; men of radical and men of conservative tendencies, is simply a task that human forces can not accomplish. Class feeling, class traditions, and philosophy unite laboring men closely in views and sympathy; and yet class organization and action are not so easily brought about.

[1] It may be well to remark that the total numbers of wage earners includes women and children.

Taking the American Federation as our greatest labor organization, we find the building trades and countless minor associations indifferent to it, and the Knights of Labor, its bitter antagonist. We find serious divisions on the question of labor in politics, of socialism; in a word there are radical differences on nearly every important course of action. This weakens the movement and materially reduces its power.

c) The movement suffers very seriously from its own mistakes. It is inclined to be suspicious of all who do not positively and fully agree with it. It tends to regard as enemies those who hesitate, because they do not yet correctly understand the movement or grasp the argument by which its demands are to be justified when justifiable. This is particularly to be noticed in the attitude of labor to all employers. *Mon énnemi c'est mon maître* expresses a very general thought. It is likewise characteristic of the attitude of labor to religion, or more accurately, to clergymen. Labor leaders in the lower ranks and labor papers are quick to allow to pass wholesale charges of dishonesty, hypocrisy, and indifference against every representative of religion without discrimination. We read for instance, "at all the centers of learning, in all the ecclesiastical assemblages, in the editorial chairs, and in every other of the apparent centers of influence of the times, the poor seem to be of no importance whatever. For this reason, the great problem of the age is treated with an indifference which serves no purpose except to reveal the ignorance of the classes referred to." Or again, "In controversies between the employer and employe, the preacher is almost invariably to be found supporting the former and criticising, if not condemning, the latter. Is it any wonder that the workingmen hold themselves aloof from the Church and lose faith in the professions of Christianity of these modern representatives of Christ? Is it any wonder that they give but little heed to the teachings of the Church, when the latter nearly always lends its influence to increase the power and advantage enjoyed by corporate greed over the labor it employs, when it is continually helping to fasten the yoke of oppression more securely upon the necks of the workingmen?" [1]

[1] Both citations are taken from notes made some time since, but circumstances make it impossible to verify them now. It is for this reason that the exact sources are not indicated.

Any fair-minded observer knows that among Protestants of all denominations there are sincere friends of the laboring men. As for the Catholic Church, has the influence of the Pope's encyclical been forgotten, or is the immense work being done in Europe for labor to be ignored?

Those to whom government is entrusted are, in the third place, the objects of the suspicions and impatient criticism of the labor movement. We all know pretty well what are the methods in politics. We see the attempts of moneyed powers to control legislation and their too frequent success. But wholesale denunciation, sweeping and absolute condemnations, ill-tempered, ill-advised criticism—aside from all question of truth—can in no good way serve the cause of labor.[1]

The moral effect of this tendency is evil. We leave aside the question of veracity and still the effect is evil. It kills the sense of responsibility and fosters recklessness. It helps to deaden the laboring men to all sense of personal fault, and makes them morally weaker. It keeps them in a state of almost chronic dissatisfaction and makes them ready for extreme measures where moderation is always wiser. One revolutionary phrase thrown into the ears of a dissatisfied multitude may have more effect than a thousand appeals for temperate action and for order. There is enough of noble sentiment and pure motive dormant in the breasts of our working men to refine, enlarge, and revolutionize our civilization. Why pass it all, and awaken the lowest feeling of the human heart as the engine to furnish power to one of the noblest movements in modern history. It is short-sighted leadership which tries to construct the kingdom of human brotherhood on hatred.

In failing to control itself and to exercise discretion in the development which it favors, the Labor Movement materially harms its interests, gives to its opponents justification for their course, and to those who are indifferent, abundant excuse for their apathy. It thus to its natural difficulties adds others of its own making.

[1] This tendency is aptly described in the following from Emerson's lecture on the "Times:" "The reforms have their high origin in an ideal justice, but they do not retain the purity of an idea. They are quickly organized in some low, inadequate form and present no more poetic image to the mind than the evil traditions which they reprobated. They mix the fire of the moral sentiment with personal and party heats, with measureless exaggerations and the blindness that prefers some darling measure to justice and truth."

To an extent the movement is the victim of circumstances.

a) The movement has not fair representation in the daily press. That press is almost entirely capitalistic; it requires capital; it is in sympathy—as far as it has sympathy—with capital. The American daily is above all a newspaper. It professes to teach little philosophy of any kind, much less the philosophy of the Labor Movement. An occasional editorial on a strike or on labor in politics is not enough to teach the public what the movement means. Such things are not read except by the intelligent few; the many want news and no more. They will desert the daily that forgets this.

It may be observed that labor has its own press! True enough. There are, maybe, 250 weekly and monthly labor papers in the United States, many of which are conducted with great skill and energy. But the labor paper is only secondarily a newspaper. It is primarily the organ of a philosophy which is not popular with the great public, or of a profession which interests only those who belong to it. It can carry on no propaganda beyond those who already believe, for it can not get readers beyond them. Great as is this difficulty it is increased by lack of capital, so necessary in any enterprise of the kind. This condition practically increases every difficulty referred to in the preceding pages. Did the public look to an authentic, able, recognized labor press for education in the whole Labor Movement, it seems that many of the misunderstandings under which it suffers might be cleared away. Were this to be done, the whole aspect of the movement and the attitude of the public might be other and better than it is.

b) The leadership of the movement is a source of difficulty. In America, much unlike the Continent, the labor movement generates its own leaders. Men of really fine intelligence and splendid power of organization come to the front rapidly enough. But dishonest and selfish men rise as well. Some become extremists, unpractical; they lose influence with the outside world and disappear or become socialist agitators. Others who show talent and energy in industrial pursuits as well as in teaching fellow workmen are advanced in position till they are out of the ranks of labor entirely.

Others leave the movement to accept political preferment, sometimes driven out by the laboring men themselves. Some remain, however, and become the solid, conservative guides and chief hope of the movement. Unfortunately much of their energy must be expended in fighting down the radical projects constantly emanating from those to whom conservatism is foreign. Smaller leaders at times betray their trust and cast suspicion on all leadership. Hence, workingmen so often mistrust leaders, mistake conservatism for betrayal, and attempt to remove or injure those very men in whom, chiefly, hope reposes.

In a word, having abundant material for able leadership, the actual leadership of the movement is not always stable ; as far as stable, much of its efficacy is hindered by its efforts to justify itself against suspicion, to apologize for its well considered conservatism, and to suppress some of the radical tendencies which manifest themselves.

c) The strength of any reform movement lies in the moral make-up and development of those in it as well as in the justice of the cause. The latter gives power, the former controls it. The laboring class is the victim of an environment, economic, social, moral, which largely hinders or retards the development of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual elements in its members. Little is expected of them in any way, and they have tremendous odds against which to strive. They are not inspired by the hopes which society reposes in them, for unfortunately we do not show that we hope for great things from them. To speak with Carlyle, we lump them together into a dim, compendious, monstrous, far-off unity, more humanely called the masses. This certainly results in moral weakness and increased lack of sense of personal dignity and individual responsibility. Much of the moral power that men have traces its origin to hopes fostered in the breasts of others. Since it is precisely from the moral stength and sense of responsibility of its members that the labor movement should draw much of its power, dignity, and security, this condition materially reduces its capacity for noble and careful self-control, for justice in demands, toleration in action, and correctness and honesty of view.

d) The seductions of socialism constitute a grave difficulty for the Labor Movement. The members of trades unions are schooled in complaint, encouraged in protest, predisposed to idealism. Thus psychologically constituted, they confront the hard realities of life, the factory or the mine with noise and dust, severe masters, long hours, doubtful employment and varying wages. Being no philosophers, often they do not reason, they feel. Socialism appears. Siren-like, it sings of peace and plenty, of ease and culture for the weary and unrefined—all to be had by a single effort. Let us not be blind. Socialism recognizes the deep longing for the ideal which is hidden in the bosom of humanity. It knows, too, how prone suffering humanity is to self-deception. There lies its tremendous power, its terrible fascination. Skilled in drawing true pictures of the real in life [1] and equally skilled in putting before men's minds the ideal as a mirror by which to judge, it is no wonder that it exerts a power among laboring men. It is in fact constantly seeking to win over the trade unions. It has fought many a hard battle among them, though repulsed successfully. The Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1894, and the Kansas City Convention in December, 1898, give proof of the intentions it fosters. It is frequently overlooked that socialism is gaining favor in the ranks of labor in United States. Individual laboring men are going over; the labor press is open to the freest socialist propaganda. Many unions are already avowedly socialistic. It would be a rare thing to find any labor organization opposed to socialism on principle. Those which do oppose it, and they constitute the majority of trade unionists, do so chiefly because of the fear of politics with which socialism seeks to ally itself.

Socialism is a dangerous dream, the resort of impulsive and sympathetic men who to a great extent are thoroughly honest but impatient and unread in history, knowing only the longings of human nature, not able to see its limitations. Aside from the question of the truth in socialism (many will not agree with the writer's estimate of it) the fact is that the majority

[1] It is a common practice for some socialist papers to publish in parallel columns, accounts of the vices, luxury, and other excesses of the rich, and of the misery, degradation, and woes of the poor.

of the American people regard it as a source of danger. Alliance with it would mean for the labor movement intensified opposition from all sides, the loss of all acquired prestige and the inevitable collapse of the movement.

e) Labor has few, if any, accredited representatives in our legislative bodies. In all of its attempts to influence legislation it must depend on friends who are more or less constant, but are not as devoted as might be intelligent men taken from the movement itself.

A final difficulty which we wish to mention brings us back to the thought with which we began. It is next to impossible for those outside the movement to grasp its subjective side, to appreciate the views, feelings, traditions which are so carefully fostered and so widely shared, to understand its philosophy of history and of society.

Here we have a given set of facts. Long columns of figures, accompanied by detailed descriptions of habits, of food, clothing, lodging, wages, and prices tell us of conditions ten, twenty, forty, fifty years ago. We who are not in, nor of the Labor Movement, study those facts and compare them with conditions to-day. We are dispassionate, calm, scientific; we are believers in figures; we call them mirrors wherein the past shows itself with great accuracy. We compare, generalize, conclude. We find that there has been a decided advance; that though there are some defects—many if you will—still cause for satisfaction predominates. We become apologists for actual conditions consequently and our work is done. Men in and of the Labor Movement probably do not read those columns of figures and those descriptions. If they read them, they do not care for them. They are neither calm nor scientific, nor believers in figures as mirrors of the past. They are merely human. They have little memory except of wrongs; every nerve fiber is quick with the energy of resentment, every utterance is toned with bitterness and, at times, unconcealed hatred.[1]

Studying statistics will never reveal to us the true labor movement. Its power, inspiration, existence are on the sub-

"[1] We who are greatest are considered the least; we who are the real masters have willingly offered our necks to the chains of servitude . . . we have magnified, blessed, and glorified the class who have robbed us of our heritage"—*Typographical Journal*, March 15, 1897.

jective side. Facts make impressions and feelings lead to conclusions, connected by no link of logic to their antecedents. From such impressions and conclusions—comes much of the power of the movement. Views not facts make revolutions. It is the study of the state of mind of labor that will reveal to us the movement. A volume on its psychology would be a useful book.[1] Ruskin says that we can learn lessons from hewers of wood, from those that dig and weave, and plant and build, not by thinking about them but by joining them. The case is similar with the labor movement.

Our general failure to approach the labor movement from this subjective side prevents us from doing justice to it, renders much that we would do for it useless because misdirected, and consequently those who might correct and direct labor when it is in the wrong, are out of sympathy with it, do not really understand and cannot assist it.

The labor movement has a noble mission. Its difficulties are numerous and great. But a few of them have been reviewed in the preceding pages. It must understand itself, its tendencies. It needs a more complete self-mastery and a deeper sense of responsibility. They are all the more necessary since, on the one hand, there is great cause for complaint, and on the other, it is vitally necessary for the movement to be guilty of none of the excesses which it itself condemns. It would be easier for labor to cultivate those qualities, were its organization more widely spread. It is clear all through the history of labor organizations in the United States that they become conservative as they become older and stronger. Consciousness of power in man is a pledge of its cautious and temperate use, the most fruitful source of the sense of responsibility.

Labor should foster religion in the working men instead of assisting in its disintegration. Duty to God, to society, to

[1] In the *Fortnightly Review* of November, 1893, Mr. A. R. Wallace, writing on the Psychology of Labor and Capital, erroneously assumes that capitalist and laborer are fixed and separate psychological types, distinct and incontrovertible, with different qualities and conformation of brain. It is not in that sense that we refer here to the psychological side of the Labor Movement. We can appreciate the meaning and power of the movement, not by studying conditions and statistics, but rather by studying the views—the mental attitude of the Labor Movement.

self must be taught; the single basis of morality protected; the dignity of man and the meaning of life insisted upon. Religion alone will do this, because it alone can foster conscience, inculcate respect for rights, encourage true fraternity. Naturally, the movement should protect itself. It should know its rights and wrongs—it need not submit without emphatic protest to wrongs of any sort. But it should aim to develop every noble instinct in the working men, hold in check the baser side of nature; aim to develop character, morality, ambition; to foster the sense of individuality, of responsibility in them. Should it ever get power, its faults or virtues will be visited on its own head. History is witness that its future is in its own hands.

W. J. KERBY.

HANNIS TAYLOR'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

We have before us the second volume of Hon. Hannis Taylor's work on "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution."[1]

The first volume, issued some years ago, traced out the genesis of that constitution, a process extending from the Teutonic conquest of Britain down to the reigns of the Lancastrian kings. The period covered in this first volume the author terms "the formative period." By the end of it the constitution had completed its structural growth and "its vital organ, the parliament, had developed all of its powers and privileges."

The second volume brings the history down to the present time, and traces out what the author calls the "aftergrowth of the constitution."

The two volumes together form a complete and connected history of a wonderful constitution that has been growing and developing for fourteen centuries, and which, directly or indirectly, has served as a model for the constitutions of nearly all the great modern states that have successfully attempted representative government.

As an introduction to the work, the first volume begins with a chapter showing "The English Origin of the Federal Republic of the United States." The thesis of the author, and the inspiration of his work, is "the fact that the constitutional histories of England and the United States constitute a continuous and natural evolution, which can only be mastered when viewed as one unbroken story."

To judge a work fairly, one must keep in mind the aim that the author set before himself. There are then two legitimate points of view—how well has he succeeded in doing what he set out to do; and what is the objective value to the reader of the result that he has more or less fully achieved.

[1] Origin and Growth of the English Constitution, by the Hon. Hannis Taylor. 2 vols., 8°, pp. XL–616; XLIV–645. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1896–1898.

In his preface Mr. Taylor tells us frankly his aim. It is to draw out in the light of the most recent researches—English, German, French, and American—the "entire historical development of the English constitutional system, and the growth out of that system of the Federal Republic of the United States;" and to do this "in such a manner as to impart to it something of human interest." In the carrying out of this purpose, "the double effort has been made to satisfy the critical student of the 'science of politics' as to fulness and accuracy of detail, and at the same time to interest every American citizen who desires to read within reasonable limits the entire history of the wonderful constitution under which he lives."

Mr. Taylor's work, therefore, does not aspire to supplant the works of the great investigators of the modern English school. It does not, for example, assume to set aside the constitutional history of Bishop Stubbs, but supplements and completes it in the light of researches made since his time. The history by Stubbs will doubtless long remain the standard for the period of which it treats,—the period covered by Taylor's first volume. He was one of that band of pioneers who delved into the rich mines of English historical records, and gave us the superb results of their own researches. For the student these volumes of the Bishop of Durham must, in the appreciative words of Taylor, ever remain rich "mines of fact and thought which may be worked without limit and without exhaustion." Stubbs was an original investigator. Taylor is an analyst and an expositor. The work by Stubbs impresses us as fragmentary, and as lacking in continuity and sequence. The fact of development, of evolution, does not stand out. The material,—and a wealth of material, too,— is there for the story of continuity, but the story itself is not unfolded. Mr. Taylor, availing himself of the researches of Stubbs and his fellow-investigators, sets himself to drawing out the story that these researches unfold. He has done well what he set out to do, and his book stands as a model of the expositor's art. But it is something more. His keen analytical mind and his legal training have given him a peculiar fitness for working over the wealth of material ready to his hand, and his book is a noteworthy addition to

historical literature, for which every student of British and American political institutions will feel grateful.

The tone of the work is calm and impartial, and the author shows a spirit of fairness towards Catholics that we are little accustomed to find in historical treatises by non-Catholics.

Bishop Stubbs is not unmindful of the influence of the Church on English constitutional development. He does not fail to emphasize the fact that the "cohesion of the Church was for ages the substitute for the cohesion which the divided nation was unable otherwise to realize." But to him it is always the Anglo-Saxon Church, "the Church of England." Roman influence is carefully overlooked. This is especially noticeable in his account of the original consolidation of the "seven churches," which was a tremendous factor in the unification of the English nation. This bringing together of the dissenting churches, one would infer from the reading of Stubbs, was due originally to the plans of King Oswy, whose policy was first formulated in his own mind, and then left to be carried out by Archbishop Theodore, to whom, owing to the death of Oswy, "the merit of the scheme actually carried into effect is due." The influence of Rome is so minimized in the account by Stubbs, that the reader cannot escape the impression that the pope was merely tolerated in the affair, and generously permitted by Oswy and Theodore to play the role of a harmless figurehead.

Mr. Taylor's lines convey a different idea. He emphasizes even more strongly than Stubbs the influence of the Church in begetting national unity for England; but he brings out in addition the extent to which the pope was a factor in this result. "The heptarchic divisions of the country reappeared in the earliest forms of organization which the Church assumed. But it was no part of the plan of Rome to permit the bishoprics thus established to remain long in a state of isolation. In 669 Theodore of Tarsus, appointed by Pope Vitalian to the vacant see of Canterbury, arrived in Kent with the specific purpose of organizing the English Church, so that it could be brought into definite relations with the see of Rome."

Illustrations of Mr. Taylor's desire to state fairly the Catholic point of view in disputed points are to be found in his fre-

quent references to Catholic sources. Lingard is frequently cited amongst his authorities. In discussing John's struggle with Innocent he desires to give the basis of the mediæval claim of papal supremacy; and for an exposition of just what this claim was he goes to Cardinal Manning's monograph, "The Pope and Magna Charta," and quotes the statement there found. Again, when he comes to the discussion of Innocent's annulment of Magna Charta, he cites in footnotes the defense offered for this both by Manning and by Lingard. This may seem to be no more than is to be expected of any scholar who essays the dignified and serene role of the historian; but, if so, it is an expectation that meets disappointment more often than realization—until we have begun to feel grateful to the historian who remains true to the principles of scholarship sufficiently to seek to learn the Catholic point of view from the pages of a Catholic authority rather than from the pages of some writer who could not understand us if he would.

Again, in discussing the effect produced by John's oath of fealty to Innocent as his vassal, Mr. Taylor, with true historical instinct, tries to reflect the point of view of the age of which he writes, rather than to judge the act by the standards of a later day. "John's sudden and abject submission to Innocent, which entirely frustrated the plans of his enemies, was looked upon at the time as a complete settlement of all the difficulties in which he was involved. There is little or nothing in the contemporary accounts of the transaction to show that it excited anything like a feeling of national humiliation. It certainly was not without precedent. John's own father, Henry II, had become the feudatory of Alexander III, while his brother, the lion-hearted Richard, had become the man of the emperor. The idea that the English nation had thrilled with a sense of shame and degradation, when John became the vassal of Innocent seems to have been the afterthought of a later time."

It would be extravagant to call this book *epoch-making*, but in one sense it may be called *epoch-marking;* for it is only in our own day that such a complete work on English institutions has become possible. Truly wonderful have been the results of recent researches into the history of institutions,

and nowhere, perhaps, is this more the case than in the field of English constitutional history. Few existing human institutions are more worthy of study than the English constitution, whether we consider the long development it represents, or the influence it has exerted on the progress of human kind; and few have such a wealth of data to invite the study of the earnest investigator. The history of that constitution runs on unbroken over fourteen centuries—a period longer than from the founding of Rome by Romulus to the fall of the Western Empire. During these fourteen centuries a national life had been continuously unfolding, a people had been working out slowly, painfully, yet steadily their political salvation, and had been laying deep the foundations of the institutions that to-day are the characteristics of the advanced civilization that is conquering the globe. The evidence of the successive steps by which all this had been accomplished were neither lost nor destroyed. There were mines of historical records to be found in England, richer than any in Europe, "whether we consider them in relation to antiquity, to continuity, to variety, to extent, or to amplitude of facts and details." Yet, until well on in our own century, these mines remained unworked, and the great English historians began their constitutional histories of England with an epoch that knew the constitution in an essentially completed form. Of the real period of its making they said little, for they knew nothing. To quote Mr. Taylor: "Hume began his 'History of England' with the accession of the house of Stuart—the volumes which treat of the preceding period were pinned on as an afterthought. How innocent Hume was of any real knowledge of the early and mediæval history of England he puts beyond all question when he tells us in his autobiography that, prior to the accession of the house of Stuart, 'it is ridiculous to consider the English constitution. . . . . as a regular plan of liberty.' Hallam began his 'Constitutional History' with the accession of the house of Tudor—three meagre chapters in the Middle Ages sufficed to contain all he desired to say of the preceding period. The magnificent ruin known as Macaulay's 'History of England' really begins with the accession of the house of Stuart—a single chapter sufficed to

contain all that the most brilliant and the most inquisitive of Englishmen cared to say of the ten eventful centuries which precede that event. Some deep and serious reason must certainly have impelled three minds, at once so acute and comprehensive, to pass so lightly over the early and mediæval history of their own country in order to begin their narrations in comparatively modern times. That reason is not hard to find. The truth is, until recently, the real history of early and mediæval England has remained a sealed book. Only within the last fifty years have the charters, chronicles, and memorials, in which were entombed the early history of the English people been made accessible ; and only within the last twenty years have they been subjected to the final analysis, which has at last extracted from them their full and true significance."

The renascence of historical study which began early in the century in Germany bore superb fruit in the domain of English history. *A priori* methods quickly gave way to the German method of painstaking investigation into sources. Through the researches of Palgrave and Kemble, royal grants, manorial records, court records, and even private conventions, were brought to light by hundreds. The government, too, set seriously to work to gather together, classify, and preserve the vast mass of scattered historical archives, and soon a flood of light began to pour in upon the hitherto dark centuries of English history. Freeman was then able to go back to the period of the Norman invasion and write the history of that conquest ; and Stubbs to go back to the beginnings of England and give us magnificent views of the wonderful process of national growth during the centuries stretching from the time when the Teutonic invaders of Britain transplanted there the institutions of their fatherland to the accession of the house of Tudor to the throne. In this last quarter of our century only has it been possible to trace out the continuous evolution of those political institutions under which we live from their genesis to the present day. This is the work Mr. Taylor has done, and in this sense his book may be called epoch-marking.

The history of constitutional development in England possesses an interest for us transcending that of any other of our

modern nations, on account of the profound influence it has exerted on the political systems of the modern world. Mr. Taylor thus forcibly puts the case: "A third and higher capacity in which the English parliament may be viewed is that in which it stands forth as the accepted political model, after which have been fashioned the several systems of popular government which now exist throughout the world. In this last and highest capacity its position is not more than a century old. The political systems of all the Teutonic nations, as they appear to us when written history begins, contained the germs of the representative principle, and in every one of the modern European states that have arisen out of the settlements made by the Teutonic nations on Roman soil a serious attempt has at some time been made in the direction of representative government. The remarkable fact is that in every continental state in which such an attempt was made, it ended at last in failure and disappointment. By the sixteenth century nearly every effort in the direction of representative government upon the continent of Europe had come to an end. In England only among the Teutonic nations did the representative system survive; in England only has the representative principle —which has been called a Teutonic invention—been able to maintain a continuous existence. In this way the English nation has been able to hand down the representative principle from the barbarian epoch to modern times; in this way England has become the 'mother of parliaments,'—the teacher of the science of representative government to all the world. Since the beginning of the French Revolution nearly all of the states of continental Europe have organized national assemblies after the model of the English parliament in a spirit of conscious imitation."

The history of England thus becomes the history of the nation that through the long centuries nurtured and kept alive the fundamental principle of orthodox political faith, against the day when the world was ready to receive and embrace it; and it may not be without interest here to indicate briefly the origin and development of *representative* government.

From the pages of Tacitus we know that the Germanic tribes rejoiced in free institutions that stood out in striking contrast to

everything known to the Roman imperialism of the day. But we know now, in the light of researches in the field of comparative history, that these free institutions which challenge the admiration and the envy of the Romans, were only a slight development of primitive Aryan institutions, of which Roman and Greek, not less than Teuton, had been the inheritors. Greece had once been the home of democracies. She had once known *elected* rulers; and a popular assembly composed of all the freemen had shouted its approval or disapproval of the legislation proposed by the king or his council. So, too, early Rome had known republican forms. The assembled citizens had chosen their rulers, and in popular assemblies they had enacted the legislation of the land. This was *popular* government, pure and simple; the citizen participated in person and not through the medium of a *representative*. It was practicable in the government of a town, or a single city. It was impossible when two or more cities should federate, or when one city had grown into a nation; and neither the Greek with his inborn genius for politics, nor the Roman with his superb talent as a builder of empire, was ever able to devise and put into successful operation a system of representation that would preserve popular government in its essentials when the state had outgrown that early form we call the city-state. This fatal defect was bound to prove the ultimate ruin alike of Greek and of Roman state.

It operated differently in the two cases. The absence of any effective principle of representation prevented the Greek cities from ever permanently uniting into a larger whole, and left them to fall finally, one by one, under the dominion of the Macedonian, and then to pass into the estate of a Roman province.

Rome, in her beginning, was very much like any of the city-states of Greece. But in Greece there were many city-states, each of which was able, in varying degrees, to defend its liberties and autonomy against the aggressions of its Hellenic neighbors. Though they thus preserved their independence for a long period, that independence meant isolation; and isolation, as we know, meant ultimate disaster.

Rome, on the contrary, found no other city near her able successfully to dispute her pre-eminence. Her wonderful career of conquest steadily widened the frontiers of the state until Rome had grown into Italy; and Italy in time widened into that greater state whose frontiers lay along the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, the Danube and the Rhine. But the constitution of the state underwent no modifications to suit it to these new conditions. As long as the republic endured, the constitution of the state remained what it had been, a constitution suited to the needs of a city-state. The Roman citizen could not exercise his franchise except in Rome itself; and when, under the empire, Caracalla extended citizenship to every free inhabitant of the Empire, it was an empty honor to all those remote from Rome,—carrying only the dubious prerogative of being permitted to pay an increased tax. The Roman knew of no device by which the citizen in distant parts might have had a voice in the direction of the government. To the resident in Gaul it mattered little, practically, whether a despotism or a democracy ruled at Rome. Under the republic he could not express his will in the councils of the nation, except he went to Rome in person. This was practical disfranchisement. Whether people or emperor were sovereign at Rome, was to him only a question of whether his tyrant were one—or many-headed. Under such a system it was impossible to weld together a firm and enduring state. The great fabric of the Roman state was inevitably destined to disintegration.

The Teutonic tribes that poured into the Roman world and settled themselves on Roman soil had the germ of the *representative* principle in the institutions they had known at home. Migration and conquest alone exerted an influence tending to augment the power of their leaders and to emphasize the monarchical element in their polity at the expense of the democratic element. In addition to this, they came into contact with a settled civilization, with a disciplined, municipal life, and with a superbly wrought-out system of law and centralized administration. In the coalescing of systems that necessarily took place, the elements of self-government faded out, and over the whole of Europe a system of kingship arose and developed, until it reached its climax when the king could

say, "I am the state," and when men accepted the principle that the will of the prince was the supreme law.

During these centuries another process of development had gone on in the ancient Roman province of Britain. When the Teutonic bands first landed on its shores, they were confronted by conditions different from those that their kinsmen had met in the continental conquest. The old Roman civilization had practically disappeared, and in the fierce struggle between the invader and the native there was neither truce nor quarter. They did not settle down side by side, as on the continent. The native was slaughtered or driven back to new fastnesses, and the invader remained sole possessor of the whole territory he had won, free to set up anew the institutions of the fatherland and to organize his polity on the same lines as had prevailed in his other home. The old Teutonic constitution was thus transplanted in England, where, practically uninfluenced by Roman survivals or by the institutions of the conquered, it worked out its own development. The idea of kingship was, of course, strengthened by the fact of conquest and the long wars that followed, but the principles of *local* self-government endured.

In their new homes the invaders preserved their old units of local government. Agriculturists as they were, they drew together into hamlets or towns, all the economic affairs of which were discussed and settled in a general assembly, or town-meeting. But for wider purposes of judicial administration, and of common defense, the townships were grouped together to form larger political aggregates; and to the assemblies of these larger divisions each township sent up, as its *representatives*, "the *reeve* and four select men." Here was the principle of *representation*, though only in the germ. Simple and natural as the device seems, it was a principle unable to find a place in the political systems of the ancient world. Only through such a means was it possible for a small self-governing community to grow into a colossal state, and preserve its form of government.

A long continued process of consolidation went on amongst the various bands of invaders. The seven kingdoms of "the heptarchy" were merged into three larger wholes—the king-

doms of northern, of central, and of southern Britain; and these, in turn, were fused into a single kingdom—"Englaland." During all this process the kingly power was expanding in scope, and growing in strength, until in the constitution of the consolidated kingdom, the king and his thegns have become the dominant element, and the independent local communities play a very subordinate role. As the feudal principle of tertitorial lordship gained strength, the free communities were reduced to the estate of dependencies of some overlord; and at last the great popular assembly, the folk-moot, the early seat of sovereignty, shrinks upto the king's council, an aristocratic body, composed of the great magnates of the realm. Then the Norman came and conquered. The processes of feudalization were hastened and systematized. The work of centralization went on apace. Everywhere the king's officer comes into the foreground, and a strong system of centralized government is superimposed on the old substructure of English local government.

In spirit the free institutions brought over by the Teutons had undergone sweeping change; but the forms had suffered little alteration. The old machinery had remained intact. The form of *representation* had endured. To the courts of the hundred and of the shire the "reeve and four select men" still went up, as of old, as the representatives of the townships.

Up to the reign of John, however, the principle of representation had never entered into the constitution of the great national council that met and deliberated with the king, nor was it established formally even by Magna Charta. That council, once the great assembly of *all* the freemen, had, during the growth of feudalism, been transformed into a council consisting only of tenants-in-chief, feudal lords who held their lands directly of the king. All that the charter guaranteed was that *all* tenants-in-chief, the lesser as well as the greater, should be summoned to the council,—the latter by special writ addressed to each individually, the former by a general writ proclaimed by the sheriffs in the courts of the shires. The great council, the parliament of the realm, as specially constituted by the charter, thus remained an aristocratic body, in

which the great body of sub-tenants was without representation. But this third estate was growing in wealth and power. The machinery for *representation* was ready at hand, and in the constant struggles between king and barons, it was inevitable that it should sooner or later be utilized. Thus, when in his difficulties John summoned his council in November, 1213, in addition to the tenants-in-chief, he summoned through the sheriff four "discreet men" from each shire. Forty years elapse before the shires are again invited to send *representatives* to the great council of the nation.

But when in 1254 the prelates and the magnates composing the parliament were unwilling to vote Henry III. the aid demanded by him, the regents summoned a great council to which each shire was directed to send as its representatives two chosen knights. From this time on to 1295 the practice of summoning chosen representatives of the shires to the great council grew in frequency. And in his famous parliament of 1265, Simon de Montfort inaugurated an extension of the principle by summoning representatives from the cities and boroughs, as well as those from the shires. Again to the great council of Edward I. in 1295, the representatives of the towns as well as the shires were summoned,—and since that time attendance of representatives from both shires and towns has been practically continuous. This council may thus be said to mark the point at which the principle of *representation* of the third estate of the realm in a national parliament secured an undisputed place in the English constitution. The ancient practice of the townships of sending up the "reeve and four select men" to represent them in the larger areas of *local* government endured through all the processes of feudalization, through all the modifications wrought by the Conquest, and through the centralization that followed, until it finally widens into the practice of sending representatives to the national parliament; thus establishing itself as a part of the machinery of the *national* government, and working out the solution of the problem of how small tribes may develop into a great nation without sacrificing the essentials of self-government.

In the primitive Teutonic constitution, when the state was a small aggregation, the legislative organ was the assembly of all the freemen. It was only when the principles of feudalism had modified the character of the state that this popular assembly,—the old institution known to early Greek and Roman, as well as to the later Teuton—dwindled into the small aristocratic body of the king's feudal vassals. The re-entrance, then, of the *representatives* of the shires and towns into the king's council, the parliament of the nation, was only the restoration to the people of the prerogative that had once been theirs. And it came back to them the more easily, because in their local government the machinery of representation had never been discarded.

In the centuries that have followed since Edward I, the successors to the representatives of the shires and the towns, then invited to confer with the king and his great council, touching affairs of state, have transformed themselves from advisors into dictators. Beginning as suppliants they have ended as masters. The whole process is thus concisely summed up by Mr. Taylor: "The way in which the nation worked out this result was by building up alongside of the older national assembly a new body, composed of the representatives of the local self-governing communities, which, from humble beginnings, won first the right to participate in taxation, then to participate in legislation, then to impeach the ministers, and finally to participate in the control of the royal administration, and in the deposition of the king himself. The whole process is one of struggle and of growth. At the outset, '*Vos humbles, pauvres communs prient et suppliient pour Dieu et en œuvre de charité*,' that their petitions may be granted. Next they establish the principle that not until their grievances, as set forth in their petitions, are redressed will they grant the supplies expected of them. With this weapon in their hands they next claim the right to examine the royal accounts, to regulate the royal expenditures, and to hold responsible to themselves the ministers, who in earlier days answered not to the nation, but to the king. The final result of this process, which has only been fully worked out

in our own time, has been a virtual transfer of the fiscal, political and administrative powers of government from the king and his council to the representatives of the people."

The representatives of the commons have gradually grown in power until they dominate the aristocratic chamber, to which they at first seemed to be only an appendage, until they even dominate the royal power which nominally created them, and until, "under the ancient and still useful forms of the throne and the regalia, the people is king."

CHARLES P. NEILL.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF CALDERON.

While preparing a bibliography for the study of the influence of Calderon upon Dryden, I found—with much surprise—that out of one hundred and twenty formal plays, seventy *autos*, and some *entremeses*,[1] as near as can be determined, only sixteen that were wholly translated into English, and a few others analyzed or partially put into our own tongue. Of the prose works,[2] which are of little value, mention is seldom made. In various conversations upon literary subjects, and in my search for critical or commentative articles upon the plays of Calderon, I discovered that even these few translations were very little known.

It seems that we have overlooked in great measure the influence of the Spanish upon many of our own writers. During the time of the renaissance in England, under the Tudors, travellers brought back into their own country the literature of Italy, France, and Spain. English writers borrowed the manner, and often took over the incidents of these books of other lands. "We must say that the European drama is saturated with the Spanish influence. Take from the French, and from Beaumont and Fletcher and their contemporaries, from Dryden, Congreve, Wycherly, Shadwell, from Goldoni, Nota, Giraud, and others, all that they borrowed directly or indirectly from Spain, and you beggar them in respect to situation and incident."[3]

It is not to be wondered at that most English readers are satisfied with the knowledge that his works were classics; his plays are not for the latter-day fancy; yet it is a mistake on the part of students of the older English drama to pass him by without consideration. He is valuable to us for his influence on Dryden and the older dramatists, and for his own great-

[1] Spanish Literature. Fitzmaurice Kelly, p. 320.
[2] A treatise on the dignity of painting, in Mariano Nifo's "Cajon de Sastre Literato."
[3] The Spanish Drama. G. H. Lewes. London: 1846, p. 6.

ness. In the histories of the Spanish literature he is held forth as the leader of an epoch whose writings hold in concrete form the spirit of the supreme age of a great country. We are told that after he died, "as the swan, singing," a new and lesser period began.

Beyond the histories of Spanish literature,[1] the few general references to him and his times,[2] and some few selections in general compilations of literature,[3] most readers have little knowledge of him and his work.

In Germany the Schlegels[4] undertook to bring Calderon before the people. They sang his praises with, perhaps, a little too much ardor, yet with much truth. Among the German commentators are Malsburg, Gries, the Schmidts, and Schultze. There is, besides, a goodly list of translators. Though the French lament that they have so few of Calderon's plays in their own language, they can yet boast of having more than we.

In English, so far as I have been able to determine, the plays or *autos* that have been translated wholly or partially are included in the appended list—with one or two additions—prepared by Denis Florence MacCarthy, and prefixed to the first of his two volumes of "Dramas, translated principally in the metre of the original."[5]

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[1] Histories of Ticknor, Schaak, Kelly, Sismondi, Bouterwek, Lemcke and Chasles.

[2] Catholic World. Vol. XXXIII. Calderon de la Barca. M. F. Egan.

[3] Library of the World's Best Literature, Vol. VII, p. 3071, Calderon, by Maurice Francis Egan.

[4] Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature, by August Wilhelm Schlegel, p. 501. Translated by John Black.

[5] Quarterly Review, Vol. XXV, Amigo Amante y leal; El Principe Constante. Blackwood's Magazine: Agradacer y no Amar; La Devocion de la Cruz, Vol. XVIII; El Maestro de Danzar, Vol. XX; La Dama Duende, Vol. XLVII. Monthly Magazine: La Vida es Sueño, Vol. XCVI. Monthly Chronicle: La Vida es Sueño, Vol. III; El Magico Prodigioso, Vol. VI; El Magico Prodigioso, translated in part by Shelley; The Spanish Drama, G. H. Lewes, London, 1846. Irish Catholic Magazine, Dublin, 1847: El Purgatorio de San Patricio, Vol. I. Justina (El Magico Prodigioso) a play translated from the Spanish of Calderon de la Barca, by J. H. (D. F. MacCarthy). Dublin University Magazine: El Secreto a Voces, Vol. XXXII; Amar despues de la Muerte, Vol. XXXVI; El Medico de su Honra, Vol. XXXVIII; El Principe Constante, Vol. XXXVIII; La Banda y la Flor, Vol. XXXIX. Fraser's Magazine: Los tres Mayores Prodigios, Vol. XL. Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature. Westminster Review, Vol. LIV. Hallam's Introduction to the Literature of Europe. Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe, translated by Thomas Roscoe. Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature, translated by Thomasina Ross. Spanish Literature, by Alexander Forster. Six Dramas of Calderon, translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Select Plays of Calderon, Norman Maccoll. Life and Genius of Calderon, R. C. Trench. Spanish Literature; Fitzmaurice Kelly.

These translations, though few in number, enable us to understand something of Calderon's merit and the spirit of the plays and of the time in which he wrote, when his *autos* or religious plays were put before the people with all the pomp and pageantry possible. The drama was fulfilling the end for which it was called into existence and the country stood in the brightest light of its history. It was the only popular literature outside of the songs and folklore that have always been with the people.

The English language owes much to Denis Florence MacCarthy for those plays of Calderon, which it holds under the spell of its own words. When he published his first translation, Justina, from the Spanish of "El Magico Prodigioso," he said that nowhere had he been able to discover any other of Calderon's plays in English. He is, in truth, the only English student of Calderon. In all he has published ten plays in book form, and has executed several partially for various magazines, besides having given us much valuable criticism. In a letter to him—if we may accept personal letters as literary or critical documents—George Ticknor, author of "The History of the Spanish Literature", writes, "In your translations the Spanish seems to come through to the surface; the original air is always perceptible in your variations. It is like a family likeness coming out in the next generation, yet with the freshness of originality."

If Ticknor's opinion is to be considered of any value,—and it certainly should be as that of one of the most earnest students of Spanish literature,—MacCarthy has grasped what the translator should first seek to grasp, the spirit of the original. It is the soul of which the language and the form are but the physical accompaniments,—the body, if you choose; and every one knows the difficulty of discerning closely a man's character. The spirit is Calderon himself, though it cannot entirely be separated from the words, the aroma of Spain, without at least suffering some distortion. The translation can never be more than the copy; and no matter how near the artist may come to the master himself, there will always be some turn of the the brush, some shade of color, that will tell us that it is a copy. The spirit is the element of universality in the author; the

words are the material, sectional, limited part man must have recourse to for the sake of expression. The spirit is the approach to the absolute, so far as man can approach the absolute without becoming divine; the words are relative, subject to the changes of time and place.

It is impossible for us to express the spirit of an author in a language different from that in which he has written without losing something due to the differences of tongues and their relativity. Words and colors are never handled with the same skill by two men. Yet it would be absurd for us to condemn all copies for this reason. If we cannot see the originals, copies give us some opportunity of enjoying the work of art that cannot be scattered broadcast like printed books among people of the same tongue. And if we do not possess the key of language that unlocks the door of a literature of a people, there is no reason why we should rush heedlessly by without learning of those that have come out what manner of thing lies within. MacCarthy, if we are to believe Ticknor, Longfellow and many others, has done a great work in helping us to see something of the stores of Calderon himself, and has been successful in giving us a close view.

I have chosen the following passage from "El Magico Prodigioso," because it contains something of the dramatic power of Calderon, and because it will enable me to show wherein lies the value of Shelley's translation, which has been looked upon with great favor by many writers:

Yo soy, pues saberlo quieres,
un epilogo, un assombro
de venturas, y desdichas,
que unas pierdo, y otros lloro;
tan gàlan fuí por mis partes,
por mi lustre tan heroyco,
tan noble por mi linage,
y por mi ingenio tan docto,
que aficionado a mis prendàs
un Rey, el mayor de todos,
puesto que todos le temen,
si le vèn aìrado al rostro,
en su Palacio cubierto
de dimantes y pyropos,
y aun si los llamasse estrellas,
fuera el hyperbole corto:
me llamà Valido suyo,

cuyo aplauso generoso
me diò tan grande sobervia,
que competi al Regio Solio,
queriendo poner las plantas
sobre sus dorados Tronos.
Fue barbaro atrevimiento,
castigado lo conozco,
loco anduve, pero fuera
arrepentido mas loco." [1]

The music of this verse is unlike anything in English. The tetrameters that MacCarthy uses are the nearest approach. One will notice also the periodic stress at the end of each line whereby the *assonante* is given a prominence over the other words of the line. This manner of rhyme, according to Lord Holland, is "a word which resembles another in the vowel on which the last accent falls, as well as the vowel or vowels that follow it; but every consonant after the accented vowel must be different from that in the corresponding syllable." In the quoted passage it will be noticed that the last word of every second line beats upon the vowel sound *o*, as exemplified in the words, *assombro*, *lloro*, *heroyco*, *docto*, *todos*, *rostro*, but that the consonantal sounds differ, according to the requirements of the rules for assonance. In the following speech of Circe, in "Love the Greatest Enchantment" (El Mayor Encanto Amor), MacCarthy has attempted to introduce the *assonante* into his translation:

" Here,—where Spring has call'd together
In this bright and beauteous garden
Her sweet parliament of flowers
To swear fealty to the fairest,
To their queen, the rose, who wears
Her imperial purple mantle,
Dyed in the blood of Venus fair,—
I await thee, pride and marvel
Of all Greece, until the chase
Circles o'er our northern lands here,
Which will be when sinks the sun
With his burning beams abated.
Here with songs and festive music
I await thee, that the absence
And the memory of thy country,
Thus amused, may not unman thee."

[1] Comedias del celebre poeta español, Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca, etc. Que saca a luz Don Juan Fernandez de Apontes, y las dedica al mismo Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca, etc. En la Oficina de la Viuda de Don Manuel Fernandez, è Imprenta del Supremo Consejo de la Inquisicion. Año de 1762. Tomo octavo, p. 336.

Here, if the attempted assonance were not pointed out, it would pass unnoticed by the ordinary reader, so insignificant does it appear in English verse. Moreover, if it were natural to, or even could be well introduced into our own language, the translator would not have entered into so hopeless a search for a list of words with a similarity of vowel sounds and a difference of consonantal sounds. The words in which the assonance lies are *garden*, *fairest*, *mantle*, *marvel*, *lands here*, *abated*, *absent*, *unman thee*, in which,—if the assonance were perfect,—all the vowel sounds would be like the *a* and the *e* in *garden*.

As it is, the English verse maker finds his lot a hard one in his search for rhymes; to make assonance an adjunct of verse is next to impossible, as is clearly shown in the quoted passage. We might say that rhymes are almost unnatural to English, and we can be quite sure in saying that assonance is opposed to it. In the Romance languages there is an abundance of clear, similar vowel sounds, not to speak of the rhymes that are possible. The Spanish or Italian poet does not reach out for them; they come to him as he writes. But in English one must struggle even for the eight rhymes of the sonnet octave, and to continue an assonance through fifty lines of verse leaves him in a desert before the twenty-fifth line is written. Yet MacCarthy is to be given credit for the work he has done for us. We not only have the spirit of Calderon, but we have a shadow of the form in which he wrote.[1]

[1] The following translation of the passage from "El Magico Prodigioso" is my own, made as nearly literal as possible, for the purpose of comparison:

"I am, since you seek to know,
an epilogue, a dread,
of fortunes and misfortunes,
of which I forget some and others I bewail.
So gallant was I for my parts,
for my polish so heroic,
so noble in my lineage,
and for my ingenuity so learned,
that, inspired by my accomplishments,
a King—the greatest of all—
who made all fear him
if he (became angry in the face) frowned
in his Palace roofed
with diamonds and carbuncles
even as if the stars flamed,—
without the least exaggeration,—
He chose me his counsellor.
Which generous praise

Calderon, taken even without the garnishings of Shelley, shows a beauty that should tempt us to look further into his works. Scattered through his *comedias* and *autos* are exquisite lyrics, rich in color and fancy, that are universally valuable and should be known to every language.

The following translation of MacCarthy's is not to be taken as an example of his best work. "El Magico Prodigioso" was the first play done into English at a time when Calderon was little known to us. In his later work he has done much in the way of improvement, and has had more success in adhering more closely to the text and in giving us much better verse. To the ear accustomed to English verse the tetrameters seem to be tinkling and frolicsome, and altogether too undignified for dramatic metre. For the same reason, in reading the short, lightsome metres of the Spanish, we are too slow to acknowledge the beauty of the poetry. But to the Spanish ear the verse of Calderon's plays is what the blank verse of Shakespere's is to us, and to condemn the metre as unsuited to the thought would be entirely wrong. The first impression one has of MacCarthy's verse is ill-received ; but with a careful reading of his later and better translation one will come to understand it better, and, thereby, understand the form as well as the spirit of the *comedias*.

" Of wonders, events, and of woes,
I'm a calendar great and rare ;
The mem'ry of some I can lose,
With others I grieve in despair.
For talent and polish so known;
A hero quite perfect in splendour;
By my birth full brightly I shone,
In knowledge to none would surrender.
A King—who is greatest of all,
And awfully feared when around
Him his looks all frowningly fall,
If angry his temper is found.
When seated on his sparkling throne,

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gave me so great haughtiness
that I competed for the Royal Seat
in seeking to place my boast
above his gilded thrones.
I was in my wild audacity
punished for the attempt.
I acted madly, but would be more mad repentant."

All decked with glittering diamonds bright,
And every shining stone,
That like the stars make glad the night;
For stars no brighter shine I ween,
And faint my simile and mean:—
His favourite made me.—So full
Of conceit with this royal mark,
I thought myself all-powerful;
And dared upon a deed embark,
To place myself upon his throne;
And I defied his royal power,
And thought to make his crown my own.
Oh, it was rash! I rue the hour!
I mad became; but madder still
Would have been had I repented."

Considered in itself this seems to have little beauty. From our point of view the simple prose translation is better; it sounds more serious to the ear; it is stripped of the apparent bombast or air of flippancy that is suggested by the form of expression. On our own comic opera stage, "A hero quite perfect in splendor" would be admirably suited to a coxcomb smothered ridiculously in silks or satins and gay ribbons. In the Spanish it is different. Where we cannot eliminate the associations that make the verse a travesty, they have associations that fill it out to a full picture. The Spaniard's life is full of the color that he loves: his nature is warmer and more impulsive. He goes into raptures where the unmoved Anglo-Saxon only smiles. The spangles and marked colors of the actor's costume appear in good taste in the strong glare of the footlights; on the street they would be ludicrous. So do the translations MacCarthy has made of Calderon's plays, appear in the true light to those that understand and consider the time, the country and the people for whose tastes he wrote.

It might be contended that MacCarthy was wrong to put the plays into a metre unfit for them. Of this he says the following: "It is by no means my intention to enter into the oft-debated question as the principle which should guide or coerce the translator in his task. As far as the translator is concerned, it is a much easier thing to produce a popular and flowing version of any foreign poem or play than a faithful and exact one; and the effect to be produced will so depend upon the capacity and culture of the reader,—whether, in a

word, he will have his German or Spanish so thoroughly 'done into English' as to have every particle of its original nature eliminated out of it, or will have it faithfully presented to him with all its native peculiarities preserved,—is so much a matter of taste, that no definite rule can be arrived at in the matter." This is a subject for a discussion of translations only.

Shelley, who had a great admiration for Calderon, said in one of his letters that he was "tempted to throw over their perfect and glowing forms the grey veil" of his own words. Whether or not he meant that in putting them into English he must make them less fantastic or more suited to the sober, calm Anglo-Saxon temperament, he has done it in part. It is to be regretted that he did not go further into the work than to translate only some scenes of "El Magico Prodigioso." He has made it great in our own language, a thing of beauty ; but it would be unwise for us to accept it as Calderon's own. Shelley has breathed into it his own art, and has used with much advantage the subtleties of expression that Calderon was not able to use. The warmth and color of Calderon roused Shelley's own thoughts, and his own self took flame from the fire of the one he was to transcribe.

"Since thou desirest, I will then unveil
Myself to thee ;—for in myself I am
A world of happiness and misery ;
This I have lost and that I must lament
Forever. In my attributes I stood
So high and so heroically great,
In lineage so supreme, and with a genius
Which penetrated with a glance the world
Beneath my feet, that won by my high merit
A king—whom I may call the King of Kings,
Because all others tremble in their pride
Before the terrors of his countenance,
In his high palace roofed with brightest gems
Of living light—call them the stars of heaven—
Named me his counsellor. But the high praise
Stung me with pride and envy, and I rose
In mighty competition to ascend
His seat, and place my foot triumphantly
Upon his subject thrones. Chastised I know
The depth to which ambition falls ; too mad
Was the attempt, and yet more mad were now
Repentance of the irrevocable deed."

Here, Shelley does not tamper with the main thought and insert conceits of his own; but he takes the main thought into his own hands and touches it here with a master touch; it is the old drapery hung over again in a different room with newer folds and better light to bring its various colors into harmony; it is the old picture newly framed and retouched with a skillful brush with dark lines to bring out the detail more clearly.

It is the English Calderon which English readers may enjoy through the medium of their own dramatic verse, through their own gray veil. Yet when the reader has finished, does he know of the color, the so-called "rodomontade" of the Spanish poet? The form being so near to the spirit and clinging so closely to it, it is quite impossible to take one from the other without injury. And if we read Calderon in blank verse, we fail to catch much of the Spanish temperament because we do not see the short, periodic verses so expressive of it.

Edward Fitzgerald, who has translated six of the "lesser" dramas, does not show the quality of faithfulness to the original that characterizes MacCarthy's work, nor has he given to his work the power and fineness that Shelley gave to his. He despairs, as he says in the preface of the book, of making a successful translation of the poet. "I do not believe an exact translation of this poet can be very successful; retaining so much that, whether real or dramatic, Spanish passion is still bombast to English ears."

He offers the following reasons for the variations in his own translation:—"Choosing, therefore, such less famous plays as still seemed to me suited to English taste, and to that form of verse in which our dramatic passion prefers to run, I have, while faithfully trying to retain what was fine and efficient, sunk, reduced, altered and replaced much that seemed not, simplified some perplexities, and curtailed or omitted scenes that seemed to mar the breadth of general effect." If Fitzgerald wrote with the object of pleasing the public fancy, he could not have done better. Yet if I founded my appreciation of Calderon upon his translations, what would be the value of my opinions? Must I judge a man only by those characteristics that seem valuable from my point of view? Must I condemn the actors of the play because they do not wear the

kind of clothes I wear or that seem proper to me? The figure that applies in the following verse, taken from one of Fitzgerald's "Six Dramas of Calderon," can be applied here:

> "He who far off beholds another dancing,
> Even one who dances best, and all the time
> Hears not the music that he dances to,
> Thinks him a madman, apprehending not
> The law that rules his else eccentric action.
> So he that's in himself insensible
> To love's sweet influence, misjudges him
> Who moves according to love's melody;
> And knowing not that all these sighs and tears,
> Ejaculations and impatiences,
> Are necessary changes of the measure,
> Which the divine musician plays, may call
> The lover crazy; which he would not do
> If he within his own heart heard the tune
> Played by the great musician of the world."

Evidently Fitzgerald believed that his readers did not hear the music that guided the motion of the dancer; they did not or could not understand the influences of time, people, climate and surroundings that the Spanish dramatist was susceptible to. If he believed aright—which is a question to be answered elsewhere—the unfortunate readers can do no better than to catch a glimpse of Calderon through Fitzgerald's blank verse; and they must be satisfied with a very limited knowledge of his plays. Not judging by severe laws, however, the work is valuable for its own beauties, the reflection of the beauties of the original, which we must put up with as almost as much as any translator can do.

In "The Life and Genius of Calderon" Dean Trench has made some translations which are of little value. As to the form,—in so far as the Spanish form can be imitated in English,—they are good; but the color is lost and Calderon appears in rather prosaic, lifeless tetrameters. Trench did not understand the spirit of Calderon; he looked upon him as a religious fanatic; he saw only the face without being able to understand the soul. Moreover, Trench was not poet enough to deal familiarly with the muse of Calderon, whose music, accordingly, he could not transfer to his own verse.

In consideration of all these attempts to reproduce the works of the great dramatist in the English language, the

question arises as to the possibilities of prose translations. The Spanish dramatic form is so alien to our own that, in trying to gain a good understanding of the *comedias* and *autos*, we cannot prescind from it. Yet to know the form we must go to the original; all copies of it are inadequate; the periodic seven-syllable or eight-syllable lines, the assonances,—of which I found as many as one hundred and seventy-three in one series—the multitudinous rhymes, are not known to the English ear. In forcing the idea to fit the tetrameters and the attempted assonance, much is shaven off that may be valuable to its comprehension. This does not necessarily happen in the broad prose version, where no compression of thought is needed to fit the metre.

If we take it that the reader is wholly unable to study the poetic form in Calderon's own work, that translation which attempts to give both form and spirit is the best. If we accept the reader as one that knows enough of Spanish verse forms, and Spanish temperament and surroundings, to understand the dramatic verse, the prose version is the most valuable. As it stands, Calderon has had so little interest for the English-speaking people that this question must remain of secondary importance until he comes to be better known.

ELMER MURPHY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

1. **Etudes d' Histoire et d' Archéologie,** par Paul Allard. Paris: Lecoffre, 1899, 8vo, pp. 436.

2. **The Homeric Palace,** by Norman Morrison Isham, A. M., Architect. Providence: The Preston and Rounds Co., 1898, 8vo, pp. 62, with eleven illustrations.

3. **Notes on Mediæval Services in England,** with an index of Lincoln Ceremonies, by Chr. Wordsworth, A. M. London: Thomas Baker, 1898, 8vo, pp. 313.

4. **The Graphic Art of the Eskimos,** by Walter James Hoffman, M. D., Honorary Curator of the Ethnological Museum, Catholic University of America. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897, 8vo, pp. 219.

1. Few disciples of De Rossi have done more to make known his labors than Paul Allard. In his admirable "Histoire des Persécutions" (5 vols., Paris, Lecoffre, 1885–1890) he has outlined with a sure hand the main features of the public and private sufferings of the Christians from Nero to Diocletian. In his "Esclaves Chrétiens" and "Esclaves, Serfs et Mainmortables," he has sketched in a way at once popular and learned the institution of ancient slavery as it was modified by Christian influences, and was later on transformed into various shades of serfage. His facile pen has also produced a most readable book on pagan art under the Christian emperors. In these essays he offers us a bouquet of choice erudition culled from his favorite field of early Christian life and habits,—ancient philosophy and slavery, collegiate teaching in ancient Rome, the origin of the papal library and archives, the newly found house of the Roman martyrs John and Paul, rural properties from the fifth to the ninth centuries, a critique of Boissier's "End of Paganism," a necrology of De Rossi. Such essays illuminate splendidly the pages of ordinary church history, and are to be recommended to all studious youth, both lay and ecclesiastical. They are written with grace and feeling, with a certain preoccupation as to their modern uses, with sound knowledge and approved methods, and without too great a show of authorities, sources, and the like. In the essay on the Origins of our Christian Civilization,

which is a review of Kurth's famous book, the reader will find the marrow of that work extracted with so much skill that he will scarcely need to read the original in order to grasp its conclusions and principal lines of proof.

2. Mr. Isham undertakes in this elegantly executed monograph to reconstruct a royal dwelling of the Homeric time—"its situation, approaches and defences, its internal arrangements (courts, women's apartments, baths, passages, armory, treasury, etc.), construction, decoration and external appearance." This is done by the study of the late excavations at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns and elsewhere, as well as by the intelligent reading of the Homeric poems themselves, or rather by a combination of both, pretty much as De Rossi was wont to study the catacombs by the light of the earliest Christian literature. Several plates illustrate the argument, which is that of the archæologists Tsountas and Manatt. What might have been a dry academic presentation of an interesting theme, becomes in the hands of a practical architect as fascinating as intelligible. In plate X, for instance, the reader grasps at a glance the evolution of a natural stronghold like Tiryns from a bare hill-top to a great irregular fortress, with outer walls and inner citadel, and all the barbaric pomp of a day when flocks and herds and the "swift black ship" made up the riches of a Greek chieftain.

3. A prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral has rendered good service by the publication of this volume of mediæval English liturgical antiquities, especially such as concern the service of the divine office and the Mass in parochial and cathedral churches. Here is quite a picture of ancient ecclesiastical England,—the celebration of matins, the public Mass, with its preparation, processions, ceremonies, the choristers and canons, their manners and meals, the evensong, the curfew, the condition of the church close or precincts, and a hundred other curious and forgotten details. Apropos of the follies and misdemeanors that in time discredited certain services, the author remarks with discrimination that "such improprieties were exceptional . . . . . We may trust that not a few holy and useful lives were lived beneath the shadow of our cathedral churches in mediæval times, as in our own days; for while offenders gain notoriety the good and orderly are less observed." On pp. 44, 45 is given the arrangement of the office for the ferias in Lent, whereby it is seen that on these days Vespers followed the Mass of the day. This explains the "Evening Mass" of Shakespeare (Romeo and Juliet, IV, 1), about which so much has been written. "It was in connection with such arrangements when Mass on the fast was followed closely by Vespers before bodily refection was taken, that the rubrics inform us that *thus endeth the order for Mass and Evensong together.* So it was that poor

Juliet offered to come to Friar Laurence "at evening Mass" on that unlucky Tuesday, presumably a vigil, as the proposed wedding with Paris was to be on a Wednesday or Thursday not in Lent. Canon Wordsworth in a note inserts the following passages from the play, suggested by Dr. Legg, to show the exact date of that evening Mass:

> "Was it before Pentecost?
> Come Pentecost as quickly as it will.
> *Act I, sc. V*, 35.
> No, it was summer;
> The day is hot, the Capulets abroad.
> *Act III, sc. II*, 2"

"It was only a fortnight to Lammas (Juliet's birthday being Lammas eve).
Lady Capulet: How long is it now to Lammas-tide?
Nurse: A fortnight and odd days.
Therefore, the evening Mass was on St. James's eve, July 24th, the only vigil or fast day on which they could have an evening Mass in the last half of July."

The greater part of this charming volume is taken up with a *catalogue raisonneé* of various articles of church furniture and customs, whose names have been gathered from the thirty-five volumes of the Chapter Acts of Lincoln (1305–1876), and from other documents pertaining to the muniments of the chapter. These two hundred pages bring before us in great detail the course of public service in Catholic England,—the high altars, ambries, belfries and bell-ringers, lavatories, lecterns, piscinas, pixes, tabernacles, and a multitude of objects yet familiar to us, as well as many long since dropped from memory, like "querecope," "custuraria," "malanderie," etc.

4. Dr. Walter Hoffman, the honorary curator of our ethnological museum, and presently consul at Mannheim in Germany, places before us in this monograph a very detailed study of the collection of Eskimo etchings or picture-writings now possessed by the United States National Museum. These rude engraving are usually on walrus ivory, though horn, bone, wood, metal, the skins of animals, and even the human skin (tattooing) are often resorted to for graphic purposes. The human figure is very imperfectly done, but the reindeer, the seal, the walrus, boats, and other objects are often seized with vigor and truth. On the strips of ivory they represent domestic avocations, habits, and conveyances, utensils, preparation of food, pastimes, games, travel, combats, hunting, fishing, gestures of all kinds. It is quite a little world of primitive art that is here revealed with great accuracy and thoroughness of description. Dr. Hoffman gives us in these pages an enlarged chapter of his famous "Beginnings of Writing" (Appleton, New York: 1895), and contributes therewith a valuable addition to the annals of American archæology. The University is indebted to him for a very attractive ethnological museum, whose collections he has arranged in the most serviceable manner.

SCRIPTURE AND CHURCH HISTORY.

Die Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Daniel, Freiburg: B. Herder, 1897, 8vo., xii–218.

This remarkable study by Dr. Bludau on the Alexandrine Version of the book of Daniel is one of a series of monographs of rare merit contributed by some of the foremost scholars of Catholic Germany, and published under the direction of Dr. Bardenhewer, of Munich, in the "Biblische Studien" (Herder, Freiburg). This study is worthy of special attention, on account of the author's ripe scholarship, his scientific methods, his careful treatment of the subject, and his exhaustive discussion of one of the most complicated themes of Old Testament criticism.

As is well known, the Alexandrine translation of the Old Testament is not only the first in time and importance, but also the most famous of the translations of the Hebrew Bible. It was the Bible used by our Lord, by His Apostles, by the Jews both before and after the time of Christ, by nearly all Christians in the early Church, and is still the standard text in the Greek Church, both Catholic and Orthodox. It is generally called the "Septuagint" or the "Bible of the Seventy," either because it was supposed to have been translated by seventy interpreters sent down by the High Priest from Jerusalem to Alexandria for that purpose, or because it was sanctioned by some Jewish council or Sanhedrim consisting of seventy members after the fashion of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, or because the name "Septuagint" belonged to the famous library for which this version was made and then passed over to as its greatest treasure, or for some other reason.

There is at most but a grain of truth in the fabulous story of the origin of this version, as told by Aristobulus, Aristæas, Josephus, and accepted by some of the fathers of the early Church. Hence, laying aside fable and legend, we may suppose that this famous translation was made very much as follows. Shortly after Alexander the Great, by whom it was founded, Alexandria became a centre of Jewish religious life, commercial enterprise, and intellectual activity. As the Jews of the Dispersion resident there soon forgot Hebrew and readily learned Greek, they felt the need of a Greek translation of their canonical books, especially of the first five, containing the Law of Moses. Accordingly the Pentateuch was first translated.

Internal evidence shows that this work must have been done by several translators, and that they were Alexandrine Jews. The remaining books, being less necessary than the Law of Moses, were rendered into Greek only at a later period. In fact, it is now generally admitted that the Septuagint was made by many translators of uncertain number, of

unequal skill and knowledge, of very different qualifications for the work. It seems, too, that for all we know they may have accomplished their very difficult task in different places and at irregular intervals of time, beginning with the Pentateuch about B. C. 280, and continuing with the remaining books till the completion of the work, about B. C. 180 or 170.

That many were engaged on this work may be inferred both from the character of the translation, which varies in the different books, and from certain ever-recurring words and phrases peculiar to some books and not to others. Some of the books are well and some are poorly translated. The Pentateuch is generally well rendered, especially Leviticus, also Exodus and Deuteronomy. Ecclesiastes is done so literally as to border on the obscure. Job and Jeremiah are wretchedly done, entire sentences being sometimes omitted or inserted, either because the translator did not understand them or because he may have had before him a Hebrew text different from what we now possess.

But the worst of all is Daniel. The Greek of this book contains so many and so remarkable divergences from the Hebrew as to excite the surprise even of the casual reader. In fact, the interpolations, mutilations, mistranslations and paraphrases are so important, especially in certain chapters, that at a very early date, even as early as the time of Irenæus (died about A. D. 202), the Christian Church discarded the Septuagint Greek and in its stead substituted the Version of Theodotion, both in the Greek bibles and in the liturgy. St. Jerome confesses that he did not understand the reason that prompted this change, "Hoc, cur acciderit, nescio." Dr. Bludau seems to admit that one reason for this substitution was that the Version of Theodotion makes it easier to give a Messianic character to the prophecy of the seventy weeks of years (Daniel, IX, 24–27). No doubt the example of Origen, who preferred the Version of Theodotion to every other, was largely instrumental in effecting the change.

Dr. Bludau is of opinion that some Hellenistic Jew, observing the many imperfections of the Daniel of the Septuagint, undertook to correct it by comparing it with the Hebrew or the Aramaic. His work, which was rather a recension than a translation, was simply revised by Theodotion, and for some time all three forms of the Greek Daniel were independently in circulation, till all became in some way inexplicably mixed up. This opinion, if true, would explain the readiness with which the recension of Theodotion was received by the entire Christian Church and is still retained in the liturgical books of the Catholic Church for her Greek rite, and in the Orthodox Greek Church.

Meanwhile, the Septuagint version of this book, discarded and discredited, passed so entirely out of use, that for centuries it was supposed

to have been irreparably lost, until, towards the close of the last century, one solitary manuscript copy of it was discovered in the Chigi Library at Rome and published by de Magistris in 1772. It has frequently been published since then, especially by Cozza-Luzi (Rome, 1877,) and by Bludau, (Münster, 1890).

Now, it is precisely this Septuagint version of Daniel that Dr. Bludau has made the theme of his very interesting dissertation. Nor is it an easy task at this late date to determine from mere internal evidence, the cause of the profound divergences from the original that this version presents. (1) Did the Greek translator have before him a Hebrew text different from the one we now possess and since lost or transformed into the present text? Or (2) Did he take liberties with an accurate Hebrew text, while in the act of rendering it into Greek, abridging, expanding, or otherwise corrupting it? Or (3) Did his translation, though originally faithful, subsequently undergo alterations at the hands of ignorant or malicious copyists? Or (4) Did he himself translate parts correctly, and then incorporate bodily into his work portions of a Greek translation already made, and badly, by some one else?

Dr. Bludau, in his exhaustive treatise, devotes separate sections to the discussion of the absolute value of the Septuagint version, of its value relative to the Hebrew, to the vicissitudes through which the Greek has passed, to its free renderings, its additions, its abridgments, its paraphrases, its rendering of names, proper, foreign, and divine, to its general features as a translation, and finally to the result of previous studies on this version. One long section is given to the remarkable Messianic prophecy contained in chapter IX, 24–27. In order that the reader may follow the investigation more easily, the Hebrew and the Greek text are printed in parallel columns and tabulated.

The relation existing between the Hebrew and the Greek is not everywhere the same. In chapters IV, V, VI especially, the amplifications, omissions, free translations, comments, are such that Dr. Bludau would be more inclined to consider the Greek a paraphrase than a translation. Hardly a verse agrees with the Hebrew, and many of the discrepancies are such as to disfigure the text and to change the sense very materially. "It must be acknowledged," he says, "that the translator has exceeded all bounds of liberty and has proceeded with unbridled license." . . . Hence, Dr. Bludau devotes to the examination of these three chapters as many sections of his book.

In conclusion he shows that not all the divergences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint need necessarily be ascribed to the bad faith or incompetency of the translator. In many instances, the Greek interpretation is preferable to that indicated by the Masoretic punctuation. But even when all due allowances are made for defects of translation likely

to happen at a time when neither grammars nor lexicons existed either in Greek or in Hebrew, it is manifest that the Greek translator, in many instances, performed his task execrably. This is true especially in the prophecy of the seventy weeks of years, where the numbers would seem to have been intentionally altered, though the general sense of the passage has not thereby been substantially changed.

Dr. Bludau suggests, though with much reserve, that the divergences referred to above may be traceable to the existence, in pre-Christian times, of two Semitic recensions of Daniel, the one Hebrew, the other Aramaic. Nor does it seem at all impossible that the Greek translator had before him an already existing Greek translation of several chapters badly made, which he appropriated and inserted bodily into his own without retouching; for it is not credible that the principal and final translator who is elsewhere so skilful and so faithful, would have taken so many liberties with a text which he himself translated. As is evident this hypothesis brings up the question of the unity of composition of even the Hebrew text, which, however, most critics have answered in the affirmative.

The other sections of this work are devoted to the discussion of the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel, the histories of the three youths in the fiery furnace, the history of Susanna, of Bel and the Dragon. These fragments, the author thinks, may have existed originally in Hebrew or in Aramaic, or may have circulated independently of the book of Daniel.

Dr. Bludau shows the modesty of the true scholar by refraining from drawing too positive conclusions from facts and premises that might not warrant so high a degree of certainty. His critical skill, his sound judgment, his extensive reading, his vast erudition, displayed in the wealth of notes and references that adorn every page of his book, the exhaustive treatment of his theme in all its bearings, his familiarity with all the literature on the subject, ancient and modern, Catholic and non-Catholic, are qualifications which, when combined, make his monograph a model worthy of study and imitation, and a very valuable contribution to Biblical science. While strictly scientific and critical in its methods, this dissertation can be read with profit by the educated public, on account of its careful avoidance of technical terms and of all unnecessary display of erudition.

Outlines of New Testament History, by Rev. Francis E. Gigot, S. S., Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. John's Seminary, Boston. New York: Benziger. 1898. 8°, pp. 366.

This manual of the first century of the history of the Church embraces the hundred years, more or less, from the birth of Jesus Christ to

the death of his favorite disciple, St. John—*anni mirabiles*, if ever there were, in which the old views of life and man were superseded, and a new moral consciousness given to the world that will never more permit it to sink into absolute degradation and disaggregation. Therefore, the teaching of the vicissitudes of this period, dim and dubious and wavering as their outlines may be, remains always the most important labor of the historian of the Church. For that reason this century, searching and critical above all, has expended more study on the origins of Christianity than on all the other periods of its splendid life. The human spirit, freed by the French Revolution from inherited respect or fear of authority, has acknowledged no bound to its natural curiosity and no intangible holiness in any accepted doctrine. So it casts the plummet of research on all sides and gazes eagerly on the faint traces that it brings back from the depths of time.

With the almost universal rejection of specific religious authority that marks our age, corresponds a reawakening of the conscience over against the most fundamental positions of the Christian system. Was Christ truly God? Did He really preexist? Was He more than the world's greatest enthusiast? Did He do more, or wish to do more, than to leave behind the ineradicable, universalized knowledge of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man? Was He, as Mahomet claimed, only the last of the prophets, and the splendid human link that binds all history in a higher mystic unity of tendency, effort, and general progress?

Did His apostles understand Him, and were they so hopelessly split on the binding force of the law, on the nature of Christ's message to humanity, that not one but two antagonistic societies arose after his death, the first self-centred at Jerusalem, and later at Rome, the other wandering through the Diaspora, revolving about Paul and his disciples until some nameless immortal genius found the formula of union ere the lines of division had become rigid with time? What was the share of the Gentile in the upbuilding of this society in its first stages? Did he modify it substantially, so that its doctrine and its constitution largely come from him and not from the first enthusiastic hearts that went about proclaiming ecstatically the good news of spiritual freedom and a new life in hope and faith and charity?

These are trenchant questions that arouse all the energies of the soul once the believer comes out from under the sheltering arms of authority and venerable tradition. But we can no more refuse to answer them than St. Paul refused to answer the questioners of Athens, among whom some may have been frivolous and idle scoffers at all moral earnestness, while others surely had long labored with premonitions of righteousness, responsibility, redemption. Until the world's history is closed, the

Christian society will be forever on trial as Christ himself was, and it can never hope to push away from its bar the multitude of men who come up with ever-new problems suggested by study or discoveries, or projecting themselves naturally out of trained reflection and observation.

The work of Father Gigot proceeds on the lines laid down in his "Outlines of Jewish History," and has the merits already mentioned, (BULLETIN, vol. IV, p. 276), sure learning, good arrangement of the material, and compactness. It is meant to be a popular book, but in a high order, and to stimulate an interest in the life of our Lord and the apostles. There is lacking a bibliography, something very necessary in a modern manual, which is so sententious that wider reading is frequently indispensable. Then, too, the figures of Christ and the apostles have been in this century the object of so many wonderful books that the student ought to have at hand some sure guidance as to the nature and scope of the principal ones. A chapter on the sources of this period would be welcome to the student, notably some account of the discussions concerning the historic value of the Acts of the Apostles. Similarly, such a manual might well contain a description of Christian institutions drawn directly from the original materials of the first century, the New Testament, and certain other documents of equal antiquity. We are of opinion, moreover, that such manuals ought to be illustrated—they furnish an occasion to get many early Christian monuments before the general public. Finally, an account of the apocryphal literature concerning the apostles would not be out of place, given its antiquity and influence.

A good index and two maps accompany the book, which is well suited for introduction into colleges, academies, and convent schools as an historical catechism or hand-book of the lives of Christ and the apostles.

PHILOSOPHY.

The Groundwork of Science: A Study of Epistemology. St. George Mivart. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. Pp. xv.—328.

The "Science Series" is edited by Professor Cattell of Columbia University, with the coöperation of F. E. Beddard, F. R. S., in Great Britain. According to the announcement, "each volume of the series will treat some department of science with reference to the most recent advances, and will be contributed by an author of acknowledged authority." The volume before us, the second of the series, fulfils both these promises. Its author enjoys a well-earned reputation as a scientist and as a philosopher. These qualities have been fairly tested in the great polemic of the past forty years; and the opponents, at least, of Mivart have appreciated his independent attitude. Whether we agree with him

or not, it must interest us to learn the *rationale* of his position, to know, in other words, what he regards as the groundwork of science.

This evidently must be sought in the human mind; for, numerous and diverse as the sciences may be, they have all been developed by mental activity. But to understand this development we have to inquire: What is the nature of the field wherein scientific laborers work? What are the tools which they must use? What qualifications must they possess?

The field of science has been repeatedly divided and subdivided, and various attempts have been made at classification. These our author regards as futile. "All the sciences are connected by such a labyrinth of interrelations that the construction of a really satisfactory classification of them appears to be an insuperable task." Accordingly, he contents himself with a mere enumeration, taking for granted the existence of a world of real and independent external bodies. But as this assumption is controverted by idealism, it is needful to show that the objects of science are not merely our subjective states. The spontaneous judgment of mankind, the dicta of our own mind and physical science itself vouch for the reality of an external world. The trouble with the idealists is that they fail to recognize the difference between sensation and intellectual perception, and mistake for inferences what are really intuitions. Avoiding these confusions, we are able to see that the objects of science are mental, physical and metaphysical, or, more briefly, that things and thoughts constitute the matter of science.

The tools which the scientist must employ are, first of all, the various organs of sense which supply material for the exercise of the higher faculties. But the finer instruments, the tools *par excellence*, are those fundamental principles which the intellect alone can furnish and use. Not a step can be taken in the cultivation of science without such convictions as the existence of certainty, the existence of an external world, our continuous substantial existence, the validity of the process of inference, the self-evidence of some truths, the principle of contradiction, the evidence of axioms, the principle of causation, the uniformity of nature, and the existence of necessity and contingency.

These principles, indeed, are involved in all scientific method, and are the guarantee of its validity. Abstract ideas, which make such principles possible, are the peculiar product of human faculty. They find their expression, not their origin, in that intellectual language which shows a difference of kind between man and the lower animals. And the ultimate ground of certainty, whatever principle or proposition we may be considering, is, and must be, its own intrinsic self-evidence. "All inquiries into the origin and causes of our convictions—whether they are gained by experience or innate, or dawning in the mind of the infant, or

only acquired at mental maturity, or brought forth from intelligence latent at birth, or brought forth by 'natural selection' from intelligence truly latent in our animal ancestors—are futile for Epistemology."

What, finally, are the qualifications necessary for successful labor in the field of science? "The one great requisite for the study and correct estimate of the nature of things external to ourselves, is true and accurate knowledge of our own." In our reflex self-consciousness, with its manifold activities, we find our ideal of unity. Each man who reflects knows that "in his consciousness the external and the internal meet and blend, and that in himself subject and object are identified." Thus confiding in our own reason and viewing without prejudice the phenomena of the universe, we discern therein the workings of an intelligence superior yet remotely analogous to our reason. "To it must be due that marvellous light shed upon our intelligence which enables us to know that such truths (first principles) are absolute, universal and necessary, objectively as well as subjectively."

The groundwork of science, therefore, may be thus defined: "It is the work of self-conscious, material organisms, making use of the marvellous intellectual first principles which they possess in exploring all the physical and psychical phenomena of the universe, which sense, intuition, and ratiocination can anyhow reveal to them as real existences whether actual or only possible."

This outline of Professor Mivart's work has, of necessity, touched only the more salient features. There are pages of close reasoning in the book which cannot well be summarized, and there are other pages in which the line of thought will be easily recognized by those who are familiar with his earlier volumes. The chapters entitled "An Enumeration of the Sciences" and "The Physical Antecedents of Science" are perhaps the least satisfactory portions of this study, though completeness seemed to demand them. Readers who have struggled with the subtleties of *Erkenntnisstheorie* will marvel—with relief or regret—at the plainness of Mivart's Epistemology. But the student of science who seeks a philosophical basis for his work and the student of philosophy who needs to bring his speculation into closer touch with science, will find in this "groundwork" much that is suggestive of a mutual understanding.

Human Immortality: Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine. William James. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898. Pp. 70.

By the will of Miss Caroline Haskell Ingersoll, who died in 1893, Harvard University received $5,000 as a fund for the establishment of

a lectureship—one lecture to be delivered each year by a clergyman or layman of any profession and of any religious denomination on this subject, "The Immortality of Man."

The Ingersoll lecturer for 1898 is the well-known professor of philosophy at Harvard University. As the sub-title indicates, Professor James confines himself to the discussion of two objections. The first is "relative to the absolute dependence of our spiritual life, as we know it here, upon the brain." The second is "relative to the incredible and intolerable number of beings which, with our modern imagination, we must believe to be immortal, if immortality is true." In reply to the first, he admits that thought is a function of the brain; but the function is not, as the materialist claims, a production, it is rather a transmission. The brain is a thin place in the veil behind which is the absolute life of the universe. Cerebral activity, in varying degrees, lowers the obstruction and consciousness pours through in finite streams. When the brain stops acting, "that special stream of consciousness which it subserved, will vanish entirely from the natural world. But the sphere of being that supplied the consciousness would still be intact, and in that more real world with which, even whilst here, it was continuous, the consciousness might, in ways unknown to us, continue still." If this view accords with certain facts and philosophical speculations, it does not, as Professor James frankly admits, guarantee personal immortality—a phase of the question which he refuses to discuss. On the other hand he claims, in a note, that it is not necessary to identify the consciousness postulated in the lecture, as pre-existing behind the scenes, with the Absolute Mind of Transcendental Idealism; there might be many minds behind the scenes as well as one. "All that the transmission theory absolutely requires is that they should transcend our minds, which thus come from something mental that pre-exists, and is larger than themselves."

The lecturer, in fact, seems to favor some sort of plurality in the world of spirit, otherwise it would have been easy to cut the ground from under the second objection. If immortality means absorption into the world-mind, there can evidently be no question of an incredible and intolerable number of beings to shock our aristocratic sense of superiority. We will not feel the crowding because we, as *we*, are no longer. Instead, however, of taking this shorter route, Professor James lays the burden of the difficulty at the door of our incapacity. This notion of an overcrowded heaven is subjective and illusory. We measure the wants of the Absolute by our own puny needs, and because we have no use for these alien human creatures, we conclude that God Himself can have no use for them. In truth, "His scale is infinite in all things. His sympathy can never know satiety or glut." Taking this higher view,

"if we feel a significance in our own life, which would lead us spontaneously to claim its perpetuity, let us be at least tolerant of like claims made by other lives, however numerous, however unideal they may seem to us to be."

The theory advanced in this lecture is not void of historical interest. It reminds us, in its essential features, of opinions held by Plato and by the Arabian philosophers and discussed at length by St. Thomas in the *Contra Gentes*. In its present graceful form it raises the question for theists at any rate: If there may be *many* minds really existing, why keep them "behind the scenes?" It is surely more economical to conceive that the same mind known to us in consciousness is the mind that survives. And some readers of this lecture will be tempted to repeat, in a slightly different sense, the question that Professor James, in his *Principles of Psychology*, puts on their lips: "Why on earth doesn't the poor man say *the soul* and have done with it?"

La Notion de Temps d'après les principes de Saint Thomas D'Aquin, par Désiré Nys. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie. 1898. Pp. 232.

This is the latest addition to the list of publications issued by the Philosophical Institute at Louvain, which, under the direction of Mgr. Mercier, has done so much to further the neo-scholastic movement. If it is important to present the teaching of St. Thomas in its entirety as a system, it is still more needful to develop it in detail; and Professor Nys renders good service by his study of a fundamental question. The three chapters into which his work is divided deal with (1) the nature of time, (2) the properties of time, (3) various theories concerning time.

The point of view is determined by the definition which St. Thomas adopted from Aristotle. Time, the measure of motion, is at once objective and subjective. Objectively, it is identical with motion, and therefore real; but its formal character, its timeness, so to say, is due to the action of our intelligence, which breaks up the continuous flux into parts and reunites these parts into a whole. From these principles are drawn certain distinctions which enable us to fix more accurately such properties of time as its unity, its value as a measure, its reversibility, relativity and limitations. The position of St. Thomas may be rightly termed moderate realism, and serves as a basis for criticising those theories which have swerved from the *via media* in the direction of extreme subjectivism or of exaggerated realism. To the former class belong the systems of Kant, Leibniz, Balmes, Descartes, Baumann, Locke and Spencer; to the latter, those of Gassendi, Clarke, Newton, and a few modern writers. This, of course, is the logical classification and serves the

author's purpose. It would, however, have set the teaching of St. Thomas in stronger relief if the historical development had been outlined. And, as the psychological aspect of the question is so important, some notice might have been taken of the experimental researches concerning the perception and estimate of time which form so conspicuous a portion of recent psychological literature. It is well at any rate to know that on this point, as on so many others, the peripatetic philosophy harmonizes with the facts and the demands of modern science.

Sagesse Pratique (Pensées, Récits, Conseils), by the R. P. Albert Maria Weiss, translated from the sixth German edition by l'Abbé L. Collin. Paris: J. Briguet, 1898. 8°, pp. 485.

The Dominican Father Weiss has produced in this book a very suggestive guide for youth. It contains solid instruction on many points that are to-day misunderstood or misrepresented. The doctrine is not developed in an academic way, but rather after a colloquial, aphoristic manner, with pertinent illustrations of story or anecdote. The titles of the twenty-five chapters will suffice to give the reader an idea of the valuable material they contain. It represents the experiences of a long and laborious life as writer, preacher, and educator. They treat of God, doubt and negation, truth, the mind, man, forbidden fruit, the world, Redeemer and redemption, Christianity, religion and faith, grace, the Church and salvation, Christian virtue, perfection, personal education, practical wisdom, the art of living, home and family, the art of education, economy, political and social, for home needs, public life, civilization and progress, humanity and history, death and judgment, eternity. There is a rich, but often sad, humor running through the book that makes it extremely readable. Those who have read the "Apology" of Father Weiss know that the style and argument are of equal charm.

SOCIOLOGY.

Elements of Sociology, by Franklin Giddings, Ph. D. New York Macmillan. 1898. Pp. 353. Price $1.10.

Professor Giddings has given us in this work, a new text-book of sociology in which he presents "an elementary description of society in clear and simple scientific terms." He believes that schools and colleges should give much time to the nature and laws of human society. Convinced that many teachers share that view, he has written the Elements to meet the demand,

The author states that this is a new book, not a mere abridgment of his former writings. Nevertheless we find in it little that is not implied

or expressed in the Principles which he published some years ago. Both works are alike in assuming that the principles of sociology admit of logical organization, and in explaining association and social organization "as consequences of a particular mental state, namely, the consciousness of kind." Though there are many differences of detail, the new work really raises no new issue in theory, hence its appearance calls for no new discussion of the thesis of Professor Giddings. More particularly, since it has been thoroughly, and at times, severely discussed on former occasions. We may, however, review the work as a text-book and judge in how far it has the qualities which we seek in a manual.

In a general way, the condition of a science and its place in the educational system should largely control the making of a text-book. When a science is in the formative stage, problems dimly seen, laws largely unknown or disputed, relations to cognate sciences poorly understood, a text-book can be little more than an attempt. It should not venture beyond the lines of certainty. It may aim to guide a student, indicate the state of controversy, but it should not dogmatize. Men may theorize or speculate, but not in a text-book. Hypotheses should be labeled, at any rate, when used. On the other hand when a science is well developed, its phenomena seen with some exactness, fundamental truths and laws generally accepted by authorities, we require another style of text-book. It may be dogmatic as far as the science is well established; but again, it must be objective—captivated by no unproved theory.

One kind of text-book is suited to undergraduates, another to graduate students. In all cases the the text-book should be marked by precision and logic. There must be exact and consistent use of terms; careful philosophical definitions. The more important must be discriminated from the less important, the former insisted upon, the latter insinuated merely. The book should honestly distinguish well-established truths and laws from hypothesis. Where controversy exists, it should be honestly stated and proper consideration given to authorities. The young man's mind is to be opened not to be closed. He is to be made an objective thinker, not a partisan. A good professor is, it is true, powerful in spite of text-books, but he is doubly strong with a perfect one,

Sociology is in a peculiar stage of development. Its place in our educational system is not yet by any means defined. In order to have an independent opinion of value on any of its fundamental problems we might say that one needs a wide knowledge of philosophy, biology, psychology, etc. Can the undergraduate successfully attempt it?

The science is not beyond the formative stage. Its relations to biology, anthropology, psychology, and economics; history, philosophy, the science of religions are extremely complicated, much disputed, and

poorly understood. Countless uncertainties cluster around nearly every fundamental question. What is society? Is there one elementary social phenomenon? What is it, if so? What is the unit of investigation? What is a social class? Authorities contradict one another at every step. A text-book in sociology, then, if it aim to be objective, exact, consistent should state as certain, what is certain, and represent as doubted what is questioned.

Professor Giddings' Elements follows a different line. The author has stated elsewhere "that the time has come when its principles (viz., of sociology) accurately formulated and adequately verified, can be organized into a coherent theory." (Principles of Sociology, p. 17.) Nevertheless, before making that statement he rejects the elementary social phenomena proposed by Gumplowicz, Novicow, DeGreef, Tarde, and Durkheim—each of them disagreeing with all the others (p. 14 ibid.). The average young man who begins his sociological reading with the Elements will get false impressions which may harm him permanently. The book hints at no doubt or controversy—it is merely devoted to the author's theory, which has not by any means won general recognition as final.

We have no intention to discuss the fundamental thesis of Professor Giddings. We will confine ourselves to some observations of lesser import, taking rather the standpoint of a student reading than of a critic judging. The Elements suggests some difficulties which it does not itself anticipate. It is to them we call attention.

On page 6 we find this definition of society: "A society is a number of like-minded individuals—*socii*—who know and enjoy their likemindedness, and are, therefore, able to work together for common ends." The social nature is represented in this way. "Association . . . . moulds the nature of individuals, making them more tolerant, sympathetic, and friendly . . . . . more thoughtful, intelligent, and judicious . . . . . In their totality these changes develop a social nature—that is, a nature fit for life in social relations" (p. 100). The social nature is "susceptible to suggestion and imitative," "to some extent originative," "it is tolerant and judicious.[1]"

Association develops three population classes—*vitality*, *personality*, and *social classes*. "The vitality and personality classes are created by the reactions of society upon its individual members in their capacity as *individuals*" (p. 109). The social classes "are created by the reactions of society upon its individual members in their capacity as *socii*" (p. 109).

[1] "The race was social before it was human." "its social qualities were the chief means of developing its human nature" (p. 232).

"The vitality classes are the simplest and most immediate direct results of association" (p. 105). *The high vitality class* is composed of those who have a high birth rate, a low death rate, and great bodily vigor and mental power. Roughly speaking, they are farmers—the land-owning class. *The medium vitality* class is made up of those who have fair bodily vigor, unusual mental vigor, low death and birth rates. Business and professional men belong chiefly to this class. *The low vitality* class corresponds to the ignorant and uncleanly slum population.

The *personality* classes are threefold. The *inventive* class is composed of mechanical inventors and "all business men, professional men, and statesmen, who have the gift of originality." The *imitative* class is composed of those who are morally and mentally sound; those who are not remarkable nor yet defective, and whose judgment is good. The *defective* class includes defectives of body and mind—"the insane, the imbecile, and suicidal," "the inebriate, the deaf and dumb, the blind, and crippled."

Apropos of this classification, which is the result of the action of society upon its members as *individuals*, we have some difficulty. The *individual, as such*, is not reacted upon by society; the phrase, *as such*, excludes social reaction. Individuals only, *as like-minded*, as *socii*, are members of society (pp. 6, 10). The *socius* is the unit. The average man has no consciousness of belonging to any vitality class. At any rate physical, physiological causes, accidents are important factors in determining vitality. Are vitality and mentality related in fixed ratio? The inventive and the imitative, as such, have no class consciousness. In the three personality classes there are, "first, geniuses and men and women of talent; second, the individuals of normal intellectual and moral power, and third the defective" (p. 108). Great talent in the first—talent and moral power in the second; the defective in mind or body in the third. The enumeration does not place geniuses crippled by accident, or invalids; those with great moral force and inferior intellectuality; those of normal intellectual power, but morally weak, guilty of excesses. It does not tell us what constitutes defect in body or mind.

The three personality classes are "created by those varied combinations of inheritance and of circumstances that are determined by association." The content of the word "circumstance" is not made clear. It does not mean anything definite to one who doubts whether or not much is known about the power which controls the distribution of genius. It may be that the author did not intend to give an exhaustive classification, though the text would lead one to think he did intend it.

The third group of social classes is called social. They are "created by the reaction of *society* upon its individual members in their capacity

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as *socii*" (p. 109). There are four such classes: *The social class, the non-social class, the pseudo-social class, the anti-social class.*

The principle of classification here is consciousness of kind. It is highly developed in the first, normal and sound but not wide or strong in the second, degenerate in the third, and approaching extinction in the last. In the first belong those who are sympathetic, friendly, helpful; from them society has inspiration, leadership, enterprise. To the second belong narrow and selfish individuals. "They pride themselves upon their independence and their habit of minding their own business" (p. 111). "This is the *primordial social class.* From it the other three social classes are directly or indirectly derived." It is neutral, "waiting to be reached and impelled upwards or downwards by the *resistless currents of social life*" (p. 111). To the third class belong congenital and habitual paupers who are impostors. True victims of misfortune do not belong to this class. The fourth class is composed of instinctive and habitual criminals who detest society and all its ways.

It is confusing to divide the *social* classes into four, one of which is called *social.* The text tells us that these four classes are created by the reactions of society upon its members, as *socii.* Society exists then, reacts and creates that which is society. The *socius,* as such, exists before those classes. Yet the *socius,* as such, is a member of society, "loving and seeking acquaintance, forming friendships and alliances, etc" (p. 10). Hence, again society exists before those classes. The three remaining classes are formed from the non-social class by "the *resistless currents* of social life" (p. 111). Hence, the resistless currents of social life exist before those classes—that is, before society exists.

Instinctive and habitual criminals, whose consciousness of kind is approaching extinction, make up the anti-social class. We venture to believe that every element in the definition of society (already given) is seen clearly and strongly in the "Molly Maguires," "Chinese Highbinders," "White Caps," or a band of counterfeiters. Consciousness of kind reaches in them a specific form stronger possibly than in any other. Then we want a definition of crime in order to understand the composition of this class. The word means one thing spoken by conscience, another, used by positive law. Are there not "instinctive and habitual criminals" in each of the other three classes? May not one simulate all the social virtues, be a leader, a source of inspiration, etc., and be a criminal? Who is more assiduous in being helpful, friendly, in cultivating social relations, than the confidence man about to rob his victim, the lobbyist buying legislation, or the notoriously corrupt alderman who is the most popular man in his ward?

In other parts of the book similar difficulty will be experienced by the average reader who is a novice in sociology. Had a fair objective an-

alysis been made of that which we call human society, had the various meanings of the word been determined, much would have been gained. A more profound view of the social nature would have been of advantage. The author in his Principles (pp. 19, 20) distinguishes three stages—aggregation, association, perfected social relations. Association is frequently referred to as prior to society in many places in the Elements. Nevertheless, the distinction is one of words, as is shown by the confusion found in use. Those observations refer to difficulty which the general reader may have—the writer had it—in looking over the Elements. No doubt, for one who is of Professor Giddings' school, there is no such confusion. Hence, we prefer to state our difficulties rather than offer a criticism.

The book will meet some criticism for inaccuracy. On page 142, the author defines knowledge as "truth that cannot be overthrown by any process of testing or criticism." Is there then a kind of *truth* which can be overthrown? One would think it on seeing such a specification. Knowledge is objective truth apprehended by the intellect.

On page 145, belief is defined as "the confident expectation that what we *desire* will come true." One can expect that what one *opposes* will come true. Would that be called belief? Belief is hardly hope or expectation in a formal sense. St. Paul's well-known definition does not confound them. The author seems to attach another meaning to the word elsewhere when he speaks of beliefs about the habits and powers of inanimate objects found among savages (Principles, p. 143). There are six or more accepted meanings of the word found among theologians and philosophers, no one of which would justify such a definition. On page 150, we find that "the religious tradition is the sum of beliefs about the continued existence of the soul after death, etc." This definition is vitiated by the use of the word belief in the author's sense. On page 147, the author states that primary traditions are economic, juridical, and political. On page 149, we are told that the secondary traditions are the animistic or personal, the poetic and the religious. It would have been well to define the word primary, since religion is one of the earliest, most enduring, and most powerful social agents known. The phrase "socialistic communism" (p. 103) is not to be recommended. On page 115 we read, "no nation in the world has thus squandered its most precious riches (understanding thereby men and women of talent and highly developed social nature) as recklessly as Spain, whose long continued Inquisition reduced her to an intellectual poverty and moral degradation unparalleled in human history."

Such statements are of little value. Granting a relative intellectual poverty, we can safely deny the assertion that it is unparalleled in his-

tory. Her "moral degradation" is not only not the greatest in history, but not the greatest actually. Leaving aside the Inquisition, has anything else affected Spain? No mention of her enormous expansion under Charles V; her dissolution by the force of the principle of hereditary monarchy; no mention of her enormous colonizations which robbed her of much of her national strength; of her share in European wars, and Europe's shares in hers, due to her political position and political ambitions, (the wars for the succession); no seeking of the mysterious law which reappears in the history of every nation. All this forgotten and the Inquisition alone thought of. The student would prefer a more accurate statement of the causes of Spain's condition.

The book is well printed, very neat in appearance, and in every way worthy of the reputation of the publishers.

The New Economy. By Lawrence Gronlund. Stone and Co., Chicago and New York. 1898. Pp. 364.

This is the latest literary product of American socialism. The author takes it for granted that the signs of the times and all history point toward collectivism. He attempts to show that it is "a most noble ideal." But since that stage in evolution may be a century distant it is necessary to do something now. "Moral egoism, rational altruism, forceful freedom, and vigorous individuality" (p. 109) are collectivist ethical ideals. An approach to them may be made by twelve practical measures which the author exposes as the "something to be done" at once. Some of the measures are socialization of mines, control of railroads, national banks of loans, state management of liquor traffic. The others are the usual reform measures. The book contributes nothing to the understanding of our social problems. The atmosphere of confident prophecy which pervades it wearies the reflecting reader.

Capital et Travail et la Réorganisation de la Société, par Franz Hitze, Conseiller d'état, membre du Reichstag allemand et du Landtag prussien, professeur de sociologie, etc. Louvain, Uystpruyst; 1898. Pp. 562.

Dr. Hitze wrote his well-known work, "Kapital und Arbeit," in 1880. We have here a translation into French by J. B. Weyrich. The German edition has been out of print for many years. The translator has added some statistical notes—aside from that the work is unchanged. It is to be regretted that Dr. Hitze has been unable to revise or rewrite the work in the light of his twenty years of study and activity in Germany since it first appeared. Eminent alike as a scholar and a man of action, a new edition of his able work would be of the greatest service to the cause of social reform and Catholicity. In the absence of such, this translation will be widely welcomed.

LITERATURE.

An Introduction to American Literature, by Henry S. Pancoast New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1898, 8vo, pp. 393.

Another manual of American literature, after those of Richardson and Tyler, claims our attention, this time under the modest name and form of an introduction. The volume of our literary expression is here divided into the Colonial Period (1607–1765), the Establishment of Nationality (1765–1815), and the Literature of the Republic (1809–1897). Within these lines the sectional divisions of our country are looked on as the chief conditioning element, and so we have in each period the schools or classes of literary thought as they appear in New England, the Middle States, and the South. Each general division is prefaced by certain broad utterances that enable the reader to grasp the salient points, as the compiler sees them, and followed by a retrospect that fixes the doctrine in the student's memory. Study lists, that is a select bibliography of monographs, accompany the subdivisions and widen the horizon of reader or student. Three comparative and synoptical tables add to the value of the book in the school-room, for which it is admirably adapted by its compact size, its elevation and idealism, its discriminating patriotism, and its habit of relief-writing, so to speak,—the grouping of the literary multitude about certain commanding figures, which in turn are often admirably outlined, for example, Franklin, Irving, Cooper, Longfellow, Lowell. The presentation of the latter seems to us the highest reach of the writer's skill in luminous and sympathetic compilation. The literary principles of the brief introduction are solid and serviceable, being based on the lines of history and following the trend of that science. Yet we think that the artistic, domestic conspectus of our literature, from its own internal view-points, is somewhat broken or marred by this too close adherence to the historico-geographical lines of development. They have, indeed, their inexorable authority, their inevitable influences. Yet across them all, as in a cosmopolitan world of mind, poet calls to poet, dramatist to dramatist, historian to historian, romancer to romancer, so steadily and surely, that it often seems as if the true, the real divisional lines were all internal, subtle, based on ancient ineradicable confines or limits, which circumscribe and divide every literature more truly than climate or government, or even the strains of blood and religion. There is the example of English literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which certainly will one day be treated more consistently from the view-point of the intellectual influence and direction that the yet vivid and near charm of the Middle Ages, and the splendid prestige of literary Italy and Spain, exer-

cised upon it. The last chapter, on Literature since the Civil War, is perhaps the weakest. The drama, history and philosophy seem to fall short of sufficient notice throughout the book. Perhaps it is the space-limit which forbade any, even brief, mention of the poetry of John Boyle O'Reilly, the sonnets of Maurice Francis Egan, the poems of Father Ryan, the finely-chiselled verse of Father Tabb, the work of Charles Warren Stoddard, the romances of Christian Reid and some others, whose literary productions are no less worthy of notice than the extravaganzas of Mark Twain.

Petrarch, The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters, by James Harvey Robinson, Professor of History in Columbia University, and Henry Winchester Rolfe, sometime Professor of Latin in Swarthmore College. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. 8°, pp. 436.

We are told, on the title page and in the preface, that this volume contains a selection from the correspondence of Petrarch with Boccaccio and other friends, designed to illustrate the beginnings of the renaissance; that it is essentially historical in its intention, and not destined to cross the lines of biography or literary criticism. Petrarch is here viewed as "the mirror of his age—a mirror in which are reflected all the momentous contrasts between waning mediævalism and the dawning renaissance." Körting, Voigt, and Pierre de Nolhac, are the modern authorities acknowledged, where the authors do not use the writings of Petrarch. The book is divided into several chapters, the principal of which treat of the biography of Petrarch, his literary contemporaries, his labors as a humanist or man of letters, his travels, his political opinions, and the conflict of monastic and secular ideals in the fifteenth century.

The authors have rendered good service to the public by their translations of many of Petrarch's letters, all the more so as the only complete edition of Petrarch's works is both rare and antiquated (Basle, 1581), the edition of Fracasetti (Florence, 3 vols., 1855–63), containing only his letters. With many appreciations of this book we willingly agree,—the fourteenth century was, indeed, the dawn of modern times, dim and cold and faint, but yet clearly apart from the times before, and revealing the promise of a light and warmth unknown to the middle times. For a long time Voigt, Burckhardt and Symonds have accustomed us to this view, which is scarcely new, seeing that the renaissance popes were practically the first to recognize it. But we think we catch too often a note of injustice toward the Middle Ages, as when (p. 307) we are told

that Petrarch's moralizing on Mount Ventoux smacks of "mediæval perversity."[1]

It argues an inexperienced mind when such noble thoughts can be taxed with "perversity," however lightly the word may be used. Hugh Miller before the evidences of creation, Abernethy kneeling in wonder at the sight of a camel's stomach, even the pagan instincts to which Petrarch alludes, the "testimonia animæ naturaliter Christianæ" should have saved these writers from such a judgment.

How Chrysostom and Augustine must pale with envy when they hear (p. 38) that theology is a "characteristic creation of the Middle Ages!" On the preceding page the authors seem to ignore the fact that Petrarch was only one, and not the first, of those who opposed Aristotle. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries numerous voices re-echo the ancient ecclesiastical distrust of the great Stagyrite, as may be seen in Launoy "De Varia Aristotelis Fortuna," or in the preface of Barthélémy de St. Hilaire to the Logic of Aristotle (p. CIII). It is painful to the students of the Middle Ages to hear Pierre Dubois spoken of as an unknown—"a certain Pierre Dubois" (p. 46). The sweeping statement (p. 110) that benefices were regarded as foundations for indigent scholars will astonish the readers of Thomassin or Roth, or any writer on ecclesiastical institutions. When (p. 92) they accuse mediæval ecclesiastics of believing in the "inherent sinfulness of love," we doubt whether the writers ever read a page of any mediæval (or modern) Catholic moral theologian. The popular preaching of any period is by no means the criterion of the principles of an entire age or society.

What we read (p. 123) of Boniface VI (d. 896) is evidently meant for Boniface IX (1389–1404). This pope is called "an upright and con-

[1] The passage referred to is in his letter to Dionisio da Borgo San Sepolcro. After describing the long and difficult assent and the emotions of his heart in presence of the splendid panorama of sea and land that lay open before him, the poet is deeply moved in spirit and writes: "While I was thus dividing my thoughts, now turning to some terrestrial object that lay before me, now raising my soul as I had done my body to higher planes, it occurred to me to look into my copy of St. Augustine's Confessions, a gift that I owe to your love, and that I have always about me, in memory of both the author and the giver. I opened the compact little volume, small, indeed, in size, but of infinite charm, with the intention of reading whatever came to hand, for I could happen upon nothing that would be otherwise than edifying and devout Now, it chanced that the tenth book presented itself. My brother, waiting to hear something of St. Augustine's from my lips, stood attentively by. I call him, and God too, to witness that where I first fixed my eyes it was written: 'And men go about to wonder at the heights of the mountains, and the mighty waves of the sea, and the wide sweep of rivers, and the circuit of the ocean, and the revolution of the stars, but themselves they consider not.' I was abashed, and asking my brother (who was anxious to hear more) not to annoy me, I closed the book, angry with myself that I should be still admiring earthly things who might long ago have learned from even the pagan philosophers that nothing is wonderful but the soul, which, when great, finds nothing great outside itself. Then, in truth, I was satisfied that I had seen enough of the mountains; I turned my eye inward upon myself, and from that time not a syllable fell from my lips until we reached the bottom again."

scientious savage." But when we look into the life-history of Dietrich von Niem, the German ex-official of the pope, as it is told in Ottocar Lorenz,[1] we learn that Dietrich had become embittered against this pope because by him he had been "kläglich ignorirt," and that he had for years been dragging out an evermore miserable existence at the papal court, hoping for some bishopric like Verden. This is enough to compel a cautious acceptance, at least of his personal reflections on the pope's character.

The book shows otherwise a tendency to flippant and irreverent language in dealing with dignified subjects, and is interlarded to a considerable extent with French and German words and brief phrases that add little to the value of the thought or illustrations. A special index of the letters translated would make the use of the book more agreeable. The text is enriched by a portrait of Petrarch, a specimen page of his annotated copy of the Iliad, and a sketch of Vaucluse from his pen, bearing the legend, "Transalpina solitudo mea jocundissima." It was discovered by M. de Nolhac in Petrarch's own copy of Pliny's Natural History.

The statement (p. 322) that the theological works attributed to Boethius are from another hand, and that he was probably not a Christian, sounds strange, in view of the fact that a whole school of learned men has always maintained the contrary. As far back as 1877 a well-known critic, Usener, edited a fragment of Cassiodorius discovered by Holder, in which this learned contemporary and friend of Boethius says: "Scripsit librum de Sancta Trinitate et capita quædam dogmatica et librum contra Nestorium." The palæographical testimony was always in favor of unity of authorship of the "De Consolatione Philosophiæ" and the theological writings. So good a patrologist as Bardenhewer (Patrologie, Freiburg, 1894, p. 586,) declares very rash the attempt to fix a heathen character on the great philosophical work of Boethius. The purity of its ethics, the sure handling of moral principles and the earnestness of their presentation, forbid us attributing it to a heathen. It is rather the work of a firm believer in Christianity, even though the technology of that religion be little in evidence.

The Italians of To-Day. From the French of René Bazin; translated by William Marchant; New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1897. 8°, pp. 240.

In his "Sicile," and in the much finer "Terre d'Espagne" René Bazin revealed to the world of letters one of those cosmopolitan souls which somehow seem to have grown rarer with increasing industry, wealth and

[1] Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, Berlin, 1887, II, 315–316.

militarism. Here was a traveler whom the monuments of history, art, and religion interested, indeed, but not to the exclusion of the real worth of any nation,—the great multitudinous substratum of common humanity called the people, from whose beliefs, hopes, and ideals all natural beauty and glory must originally have come. In this new book on modern Italy, he passes in review the peoples of the Peninsula much after the manner of his former books of travel. There is the same impressionable soul, alive to every charm of color and line and mass that the landscape offers, curiously observant of the monuments peculiar to each of the many races that are blended now in a common stock,—alive, nevertheless, to the actual currents that are shaping anew the life of an immemorial people.

In Lombardy and Tuscany it is the economic movement that attracts him, or the relations of officers and soldiers, or the yet dignified villa life of families whose existence is not unlike their prototypes in ancient Florence or Orvieto. He is quick to see certain peculiarities of Italian character revealed by the great monumental cemeteries of Genoa, Milan, Bologna, and other cities, by the vast and splendid new quarters of Milan, by the pompous placards that flame from every wall. In every typical old city he meets representatives of the various estates of Italian life,—the noble, the bourgeois, the soldier, the man of the people,—and their conversations furnish a mutual corrective to which our traveler adds his own reflections, devoid neither of salt or charity. Florence the Guelf and Siena the Ghibelline, old baronial Vicenza, and Padua the studious, are treated in water colors, very slightly, but spiritedly and fascinatingly.

And en route he chats with just discernment about the hopes and future of Italy; about her novelists, musicians and savants, a little patronizingly after the way of rich and powerful neighbors, but with genuine affection. It is clear that he has suffered *le mal d'Italie*, that irrepressible yearning for the sunniest soil, the most varied history, the richest art that any people ever possessed. We would especially commend the chapter on the unhappy failure of the great building speculations at Rome. Very instructive, too, and touching, is the exhaustive description of the real life of the people of the Campagna. Who that has read these pages can ever forget that little world of herdsmen and shepherds which yet encircles with its zone of silence and death the great lonely capital of Italy? Just so it has been since the day when the little stone stronghold, a robber's nest, first rose upon the Palatine, and looked down upon the tortuous, yellow Tiber as it wound its swift way, rolling across pasture lands, by the foot of slopes and cliffs, through gulches and valleys that seem yet to make up a miniature earth,—so little is wanting of geographical diversity on this marvellous wold.

Dante, Sein Leben und Sein Werk, Sein Verhæltniss zur Kunst und Zur Politik, von Franz Xaver Kraus. Berlin, G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897. 4°, pp. 790.

When a scholar like Professor Kraus gives to the world a volume on a subject which has been for many years the theme of his meditations and researches, one is justified in expecting something beyond the common in content and form,—something exhaustive at once and inspiring. Kraus has been for years an enthusiastic Dantophile, and few private libraries contain a completer collection of works relating to the great Tuscan than can be seen in the modest home in the Wilhelmsstrasse in Freiburg. With an iron industry and an unflagging patience this genial savant has at last produced an account of the life and labors of Dante that must henceforth take its place besides the monumental labors of Wegele and Scartazzini. Every chapter of the work betrays a scientific conscientiousness and thoroughness peculiarly German, while the whole offers to the admirers of Dante a most liberal and attractive encyclopædia of knowledge concerning the "sommo poeta."

Under five general rubrics Professor Kraus has distributed the subject-matter of his work, "The Life of Dante," his Minor Writings, the Divina Commedia, "The Poet's Relations to Art and to Politics." In the first book we are introduced to the sources of our knowledge of Dante, the certain and uncertain dates of his lifework, his birth and family, youth, and public services. Then follows the account of his exile, his final shelter and death at Ravenna, his portrait in the popular imagination and memory, his mental physiognomy, his portraits in ancient and modern art. In the second book the lesser productions of Dante's pen are passed in review as to their genuinity, content and spirit,—the Vita Nuova, the Canzoniere, the De Vulgari Eloquentia, the Convito, the De Monarchia, the Eclogues, and the Letters, as well as writings certainly spurious, but once honored with his name. In the third book, Professor Kraus attacks the knotty problems of the Divina Commedia, its content and the execution of the same, the scope of the poet, the general history of its interpretation, the basic idea, the chronology, and the peculiar dress of the great poem. The allegory on which rest the first two cantos of the Inferno and the chief symbolic figures of the Commedia come in for lengthy treatment, as well as the palæographic tradition of the text, the various printed editions, and the translations. A chapter is devoted to the earlier commentaries, and another to the peculiar characteristics of the Commedia. The fourth book considers Dante in his relation to the fine arts, his personal knowledge and practice of art, his doctrine concerning art, the history of the illustration of the poems, both in manuscript and in print, the idealized illustration, and the effect of the poem

on the plastic arts in general. Politics, profane and ecclesiastical, the empire and the Church, form the theme of the fifth book, in which Professor Kraus brings clearly to the light the profoundly ideal Catholicism of Dante's mind, his notions of thorough and lasting reform, and the results which Dante's political ideas have brought about in the past, or are likely to cause in the future. The work closes with a summary of Dante's character, and a series of judgments from the lips of the most competent students of his life and his writings.

Niccolò Tommaséo said of the poet: "Legger Dante é un dovere; releggerlo é necessario; sentirlo é presagio di grandezza." So, too, to have read and appreciated this manual of Dante is to assimilate, at least the outlines of a liberal education in the great school over which the world's supremest poet presides—the school of ideal and holy Catholicism, cut loose from the prizes and attachments of earthly politics, that school of joyful life for which

"E Sisto e Pio e Calisto ed Urbano
Sparser lo sangue dopo molto fleto."

The last fifty years have witnessed an extraordinary revival of Dantesque studies, and the creation of a literature so enormous that only the very few can presume to be acquainted with it in detail. The names of Troya, Balbo, Fraticelli, Todeschini, Lombardi, De Lungo, Scartazzini, of Blanc and Wegele and Ruth, of Fauriel and Ozanam, of Bocca and Rosetti, Church and Lowell, Symonds and Plumptre, of Cary, Longfellow, Norton, Wright, Parsons, Moore, Fay, and so many others, bring before us the vision of a glorious academy of men of all cultured nations, whose one inexhaustible theme is the

"Poema sacro
Al qual ha posto mano e cielo e terra."

It is the results of these numberless studies, to which must be added the labors of the Dante societies of Italy, Germany, and America, and the historians of Italian literature, that one finds imbedded in the pages of Professor Kraus. In every chapter occur numerous questions and problems of genuinity, chronology, interpretation and appreciation that no common reader could hope to know or approach without the aid of some kindly and intelligent mentor. Take, for instance, the question of the genuinity of the epistles of Dante, or the fantastic system of anti-papal interpretation excogitated by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, or the political character of many of the Canzoni, or the history of the illustration of the text of the Divina Commedia. With commendable succinctness our author places the acquired results of modern scholarship in a few bril-

liant pages and initiates his readers to conclusions that their finders reached after much toil.

To the lover of Dante there is not one dry or useless page in the whole book. Some unavoidable repetition there certainly is, and certain chapters might not suffer from a more compact treatment. The entire work could be compressed into a handy manual by omission of the footnotes and much of the argument. But as it is, its very amplitude and exhaustiveness make it desirable to those whose books on Dante are few and perhaps a little out of date. Such critical works are not likely to find translators, but they stimulate research, and serve as incentives for the younger generation whom they have coaxed to take up the torch and hand it on to others already dimly visible in the future.

Dante was a Catholic in whom poetry and theology have so interpenetrated one another that the features of the former are forevermore crowned with an other-world gravity, and the hard face of the latter has unbent, to wear the winsomest smile that ever decked its stern pure traits.

It is in vain that men persuade themselves that they may deal unaffected with these wonderful writings. Insensibly they will be drawn within the reach of that fierce genius who tolerated in lifetime nothing mean or common near him, and whose shadow even yet compels his disciples to gravest reflection and deep spirit-probings that lead ultimately to that Rome—"onde Cristo é Romano." There is more than one appreciation of Professor Kraus which we could wish toned down in form or omitted; times and circumstances have so changed that the events which called them forth are unlikely ever again to recur. Perhaps, too, we who dwell in a political system that would make the flesh of Dante creep can scarcely understand the temper of mind of a man to whom the thoughts and the atmosphere of the "Monarchia" are congenial. We would not burn at the stake that or any other passionate winged cry of the human heart—Deus est qui judicet. But, oh! how far the world has wandered up the heights of political wisdom since the days when Dante hoped for a world-peace from such anachronisms as "Alberto Tedesco" or "Rodolfo imperador;" when the man, in whom all the emotion and knowledge of the age stood at flood-tide, could throw his whole being into those unparalleled stormy cries and entreaties, that sacred rage and passion, which ennoble the imperialism of the sixth canto of the "Paradiso," while they leave the modern heart sad and thoughtful over the mystery of destiny which could so cruelly hide the necessary truth from the anointed eyes and the purified lips of the prophet of his own and all future time!

HAGIOGRAPHY.

1. **St. Ignace de Loyola,** par Henri Joly. Paris: Lecoffre. 1899, 8vo, pp. 227.

2. **St. Etienne,** Roi Apostolique de Hongrie, par E. Horn. Paris: Lecoffre. 1899, 8vo, pp. 197.

3. **Le P. de l' Hermite des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée,** par le R. P. Marius Devés. Paris: Briguet. 1898, 8vo, pp. 515.

4. **Life of the Venerable Servant of God Julie Billiart,** foundress and first Superior-General of the Institute of Sisters of Notre Dame, by a member of the same congregation, edited by Father Clare, S. J. London: Art and Book Co. 1898, 8vo, pp. 403.

1. M. Henri Joly, the author of *La Psychologie des Saints* in the Lecoffre collection, has undertaken the task of writing the life of St. Ignatius of Loyola. His authorities, which he follows most faithfully, are the domestic writers of the Society, Gonzalès (Acta Antiquissima), Ribadeneira (Vita altera), and Polanco (Vita Ignatii, Madrid, 1894). The labors of the Bollandists and the writings of St. Ignatius (Exercises, Constitutions, Letters) are also added to the list. As to the spirit of the book M. Joly tells us himself that it is written "en parfaite liberté." He takes note on his way of many an objection against the nature and work of the Society, but resolves them with ease, accepting as a rule the positions and conclusions of the authorities above cited. As a summary of the old lives it is excellent. But it would be scarcely exact to say, in spite of the style and a certain emphasis, that it adds to our knowledge of the circumstances of the foundation of the Society. There is certainly a disproportion in the space given to the relations of Paul III with St. Ignatius, and the rather harsh paragraph which (p. 216) he consecrates to Paul IV, who looked with other eyes on the life-tenure of the general and the exemption from choir duty. The work is really a smooth and elegant panegyric of St. Ignatius, and as such deserves the highest credit.

2. The conversion of Hungary at the end of the tenth century was a providential act for Europe, since it closed the great plain of Pannonia against the forces of Islam and created a Christian bulwark against which, times innumerable, the forces of the Crescent have hurled themselves in vain. In this little volume M. Horn relates the circumstances of this conversion,—the zeal and daring of the Transylvanian girl Sarolta, who married Gieza, duke of Hungary and descendant of Arpàd

the Hun, who a hundred years earlier had reconquered the ancestral domain of Attila; then follow the birth of Stephen, true child of Almos, and his marriage to Gisela, daughter of the German Emperor; afterward his zeal in spreading Christianity, his jealousy of the increasing power of Poland, and his success in securing from Sylvester II (in the year 1000) the title of King and Apostolicus, with the rich crown that Rome once destined for the Pole. Stephen was the father of his people; his wars were successful; his political constitution was a viable and suitable one; he covered the land with bishoprics, churches and convents,—in a word, he seized on every civilizing element in Christianity that enabled him to break the attachment of this strong Altaic race to its old gods and heathen practices. The ecclesiastical independence that Rome granted him was often afterward regretted by her, but the kings of Hungary never consented to give up their perpetual right of legation. To this, perhaps, are owing in no small share the abuses from which that church has notoriously suffered, being neither Eastern nor Western, and having come through the Middle Ages and the French Revolution with almost no change in its internal organization or discipline. The work of M. Horn contains more than one historical reason for the abuses and trials of this wonderful church.

3. France offers us a peculiar kind of hagiographical literature, in which the heroic actions of men gifted with the spirit of God are intermingled with tender memories of their family and personal relations. The life of Père de l'Hermite (1829–1890) is a good specimen of these works of edification. By turn popular missionary, parish priest, superior of a religious house and then provincial of his brethren, he consumed the last years of his life as military chaplain or in the special service of the poor. His life is typical of hundreds spent in the same way. They keep alive in France the good odor of Catholicism by their extraordinary sacrifices and their almost superhuman labors along lines that bring little worldly glory, but rejoice the saints and angels.

4. The work of the educational congregations of women during the nineteenth century is truly a wonderful theme. In this life of Mother Julie Billiart we have the life-sketch of one of those remarkable personalities whom God raises from time to time as benefactors of society. It is to her that the Church owes the institute of the Sisters of Notre Dame, a teaching order that counts some twelve hundred members in America, from four to six hundred in England, and above thirteen hundred in Belgium. This volume relates the incidents of her life (1751–1816), the grave trials and crosses she was made to bear, and the rapid spread of her institute which has never failed to reproduce in its work the features that this strong woman stamped upon it in infancy.

PHILOLOGY.

A Contribution to the Phonology of Desi-Irish, by Rev. Richard Henebry, Ph. D. Greifswald: Julius Abel. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1898. Pp. vi–77.

A good deal of attention has been paid of late to the phonology of modern Irish. A French, a German, and a Danish scholar have in turn studied the Gaelic of the South Islands of Aran, a place that bids fair to become a school of modern Irish. In the present pages we have the first thorough account yet published of the pronunciation of Irish in what has always been, and still is, the literary province. As the work of one who has been from his childhood familiar with the language, this study has a special value, and it has already received a warm welcome in Gaelic circles. Dr. Henebry gives his little book the modest sub-title of *Introduction to the Metrical System of Munster Poetry*—a body of literature fairly familiar to English readers through the translations of Mangan, Edward Walsh, Furlong, and others—but we believe that students of language generally will find the work very suggestive and valuable. Few spoken tongues of the present day have such a long record as Gaelic possesses of the changes in pronunciation as reflected in MSS. extending over eleven centuries. The phonetic scheme adopted, while full and adequate for all practical purposes, is also natural, and presents no unnecessary difficulty. The vowel sounds are carefully indicated, and each consonant has its full share of symbols.

Lengthening of vowel sounds from position, and removal of certain vowel sounds in favor of others, are the chief phenomena studied under the head of vowels. The first phenomenon is not peculiar to Gaelic as we have it in lowland Scotch and western English (*auld* for *old*, etc). In Gaelic, however, it is the chief feature of Munster pronunciation, and also, curiously enough, of the Gaelic of the Northern Highlands of Scotland. Under the second head we find that the vowel *a* has, outside Ulster, lost its natural sound, and taken on the sounds of *a* in *what, fall.* The cases in which the original sounds are retained are carefully classified, and some curious details are given of the changing pronunciation of personal names. We notice that in Desi the verbal ending *—fá* has the modified sound. In the West it retains the original sound. In words beginning with *f*, the original *a* sound returns on aspiration, as noted in the case of *fhan.*

In English we have had a change of sound in words like *meal, steal, meat*, where the original *ē* sound is retained yet in the Anglo-Irish. In Gaelic there is a similar tendency to the *ee* or *i* sound. Thus from *clerus* we have nom. *cliar*, and this is a type of a very large class. Dr.

Henebry does not gather his facts with an eye on any theory, but we might point out that the sound *bial, ian,* etc., given to *béal, éan,* etc., in Munster and in the Highlands, is only a modern example of the change seen in *clerus, cliar,* and is also in line with the Western change from ē to īa, as in *ael,* later *aol* (which was probably pronounced as it now is in Munster), present īal. In Munster the *īan* sound is given to *ēan* usually when stressed only, and perhaps that fact explains why *aon,* the numeral adjective is ēn in the West, while *a h-aon* (the noun) is a HIN. The Ulster pronounciation *ĕ* given to *ao* marks an intermediate stage of the change in sound.

Similarly there are reductions of *a* to *u* (pp. 9, 20, 25, 27, 28) which are of very great interest. It may be questioned, however, whether *dam, agam, agat* (p. 20) were ever phonetic spelling; in no place is the pronunciation *dam* now heard, but *dom* and *domh.*

The diphthongal sound given to *i* in such words as *im, linn,* etc., and the analogous sound given to *ai, oi, ui* in certain positions is perhaps the most striking peculiarity of Desi-Irish, and enables one to identify a Desian after a few moments' conversation. No doubt the Munster Gaelic has retained the original pronunciation of the diphthongs better than the western or northern Irish, where the *i* is assimilated by either the following consonant or the preceding vowel. The strongly nasal *au* sound is another well-marked note of the Desi-Gaelic. Elsewhere nasal tones are restricted to vowel sound followed by *mh,* except perhaps in one word, *áit,* which, for some reason or other, is always nasalized.

We find some remarkable interchanges between *c* and *t, ch* and *th, d* and *g,* and indeed we may add *dh* and *gh,* as these last are pronounced identically everywhere. In the midland counties of Ireland, *c* and *t* have the same sound before *u* in English; thus *cute, Tuite* are exactly identical in sound. Similarly *d* and *g*; *dew* is pronounced as if *gue.* There are indications of the same interchange in Desi-Irish; thus, p. 41, *cliamhian* as if *tl—*; p. 54, *tsleibhe* as if *cl—*; p. 13, *dligheadh* as if *gli—.* Then there is a regular use of *ch* for *th* in *leath, thrath, rath, rioth.* Also the opposite in *fithe* for *fiche*—the western and northern speakers go into the other extreme and say *—ich* for *—ith* in *maith, flaith.* Compare also Munster *—ithe* for *—ighthe,* Ulster *—iste* for *—ichte.*

Questions of Gaelic phonology have special actuality just now when the movement to extend the use and knowledge of the old tongue is meeting with such success, that the proposal has been made of adopting a phonetic spelling so as to make the learning of Gaelic easier. Evidently any improvement in spelling, and still more a phonetic spelling, must be based on a uniform pronunciation. We must know what are abnormal and erratic growths, and separate them from the normal pro-

nunciation. Dr. Henebry's book, although not written for this specific purpose, is a most valuable help to study of these points. Thus some things that at present only burden the memory under the title of exceptional words, are shown to be simply wrong, such as *éagmais*, p. 64, *anns gach*, *arsa si*, p. 76, and many others. On the other hand many phrases and words which at first sight one would declare wrong are shown to have developed in a normal manner, such as *dé luain*, 43, *dada*, 20, *sán* for *tasbén*, *tara*, etc. The author is not inclined to any innovations in orthography; to us indeed he seems rather too conservative in writing *rachad* for the Munster pronunciation *raghad*, *glaise* for *gluise*, p. 33, and a few others. We venture to say that this little book will form the starting-point of many interesting discussions among Gaelic scholars. The equation of *a bhaile* with *an bhaile*, where *an* represent a compound of the article with the preposition *in*, will probably arouse a discussion affecting a large class of common phrases. The Ulster phrase is *na bhaile*, and hitherto the noun has been regarded as the genitive case after *chum* fallen away to *un*. Thus the Donegal *ag 'ul na gceall*, "going to Killyhegs," and the Kerry *a' dul go dtí sna ceallaibh*, "going to Kells," represent the same noun in genitive and dative. *Steach in tí*, which occurs immediately after *an bhaile*, pp. 69–70, is in the west *na tighe* (*chum an tighe*) and *sa' teach*. Very interesting are the notes on *meireach*, p. 28, *tafann*, p. 51, *fuaidh*, p. 46, *siur* and *fiur*, 51.

We have found this first publication of the A. O. H. chair most instructive and suggestive, and we hope that Dr. Henebry may follow it up with other studies of similar character dealing with the Gaelic of Thomaard, Desmond, and West Munster.

EUGENE O'GROWNEY.

Phœnix, Arizona.

Ancient and Modern Palestine, translated by Mary B. Rotthier, from the French of Brother Lieuwin de Hamme, O. S. F., residing at Jerusalem for the last forty years. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged, with maps, plans and views, 2 vols., 8vo. New York: The Meany Publishing Co. 1898.

In these volumes we have a translation of a well-known French guide book for pilgrims to the Holy Land.[1] From the view-point of the local Franciscan traditions, preserved for seven centuries by these faithful guardians of the Holy Land, this book may be looked on as completing the invaluable guide of Baedeker, edited by Professor Socin. The book before us is very useful as a guide to the sanctuaries; as a guide to the

[1] "Guide Indicateur des Sanctuaires et Lieux Historiques de la Terre Sainte," by the late lamented Bro. Lieuwin de Hamme.

historical places of the Holy Land, its worth is less. The author is very partial to local tradition and rather deaf to any historical criticism that might tend to displace these traditions from their popularity. Still, as the pilgrim does not usually care, except in a superficial way, to discuss the opinions of archæologists, this book may be very useful to him. Certain improvements might be suggested, e. g., a clearer arrangement for American pilgrims of the abundant practical information, more systematic indexes, more detailed and better engraved maps. The whole might be condensed into one volume by the use of suitable paper and the introduction of smaller type for less important matter. With these betterments the book will answer fairly well the needs of the average pilgrim to the Holy Land.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(Mention under this rubric does not preclude further notice.)

Evolution and Teleology. Discourse by the Rev. Dr. J. H. Zahm, C. S. C. president of the anthropological section of the International Catholic Scientific Congress, Fribourg, Switzerland, August, 1897. Reprinted in *Popular Science Monthly*, April, 1898, with translations into French, *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, April, 1898, and Italian, A. M. Galea, Siena, 1898.

Theologiae Naturalis Institutiones, in compendium redactæ et tyronum usui accomodatæ. A Sac. Bernardo M. Skulik, Senis, 1897.

The Life of Laura Keene, Actress, Artist, Manager, and Scholar, together with some interesting reminiscences of her daughter, by John Creahan, Philadelphia, 1897.

Report of the Board of Education of the State of Connecticut for 1897, Hartford, Conn., 1898.

How to Pray, translated from the French of Abbé Grou, S. J., by Teresa Fitzgerald, edited with preface by Father Clarke, S. J. London: Thomas Baker. 1898. 8°, pp. 204.

The Catechism of Rodez, explained in form of sermons, etc., by the Abbé Luche, translated and adapted to the wants of the American public by Rev. John Thein. B. Herder: St. Louis. 1898. 8°, pp. 528.

ANALECTA.

EDUCATIONAL.

What is a University.—The London *Spectator* of February 12th contains an article under this heading. It is republished in the December *Educational Review*. The question interests all. The readers of the BULLETIN—those acquainted with the life of our university, or who have heard the discourses of the chancellor, the rector, or the deans, know the answer as we understand it. In the university, science is made by research and investigations; learned men are formed in seminars, laboratories, libraries. Science is communicated to others by courses and conferences; science is applied in the professional schools. From the university radiates an influence that is felt far and wide. The article above referred to is interesting since it institutes a comparison of the five types of university, French, German, English, Scotch, American, the result of which is favorable to the German type. We quote from it.

"Essentially the German University is exactly what the University of Paris was in the Middle Ages—a great teaching corporation—and this must be held to be the chief function of a university. For our time, the Universities of Berlin and Leipsic have been the greatest centers of teaching in the world. Merely to name their leading professors is to indicate the best that has been done in thought and research—Ranke, Helmholtz, Von Sybel, Curtius, Mommsen, Virchow, Fechner, Pfleiderer, Treitschke, Hoffmann, Wundt—no other seats of learning can yield such names. The intellectual life of Germany is expressed by the university as it is not either in France or England. Mill, Spencer, Grote, Huxley would in Germany have been university professors; here they were unconnected with any university. This is not only true of the university of to-day, it was true of Germany at an earlier date. Kant and Hegel were university professors, and even so unacademic a personage as Goethe spent years at two universities—Leipsic and Strasbourg. A free teaching institution reaching even the lower classes (we have known a milkman take the doctorate of philosophy at Leipsic), tending to immense specialism, but embracing all knowledge and expressing the highest ideal of the nation's culture—such is the German University.

"The English type is different. Here we have the collegiate system with its reminiscences of school discipline and its aesthetic charm un-

known to the German University. The chief drawbacks to Oxford and Cambridge are the low standards for the majority, the excessive competition and the comparative absence of what the Americans call 'post-graduate' work. There is too much of the school element, too little of the serious work of the mature student. The universities have not yet quite recovered from the effects of those generations of cultivated ignorance and lettered idleness so severely exposed by Gibbon and Adam Smith. On the other hand, the strength of Oxford and Cambridge lies in their deep humanity, their lofty standard of life, their aloofness from everything that is vulgar, mercenary or partisan."

Higher Education.—Mr. W. T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, delivered the convocation address at the Quarter Centennial of Boston University on May 31. He took as his theme, "Higher Education: Its Function in Preserving and Extending our Civilization." It was published in the September *Educational Review*. We quote its conclusion:

"In the college the pupil has the thought of his civilization presented to him as a practical guiding principle. He meets it in every recitation room and in the general conduct of the institution. He finds himself in association with a large number of students all occupied upon this work of learning the regulative principles not only of human conduct but also of the world of knowledge.

"The lawyer, after working years and years over his cases, comes by and by to have what is called a 'legal mind,' so that he sees at a glance, almost as by intuition, what the law will be in a new case. So, in the four years of college undergraduate life, the student gets an insight which enables him to decide immediately a phase of the problem of life. He forms a habit of mind which inquires constantly of each thing and event: How does this look in the light of the whole of human learning? What is the 'good form' which the concensus of the scholars of the world has fixed for this? He learns at once to respect what are called 'isms' and universal panaceas as one-sided statements. The wisdom of the case begins to form a conscious element of his life.

"While the first part of higher education gives this general insight into what is good form in view of the unity of human learning, the second part—that which teaches methods of original investigation—should be made accessible to all students of colleges and universities. For this purpose endowments are needed, first in the forms of fellowships which will enable the student to live comfortably while he is preparing himself for his doctor's degree. A second kind of endowment may promote research and take the form of prizes for special investigations.

"The laboratories and seminaries of this post-graduate course may and

do take up the practical problems of the life of the people. These are capable of immense benefit in sociology and politics, to say nothing of the industries of the people, rural and urban. The entire civil service of the United States should find employment for experts armed with methods of original investigation, and with the readiness and daring to undertake the solution of problems which offer themselves perpetually in our civil life. The town council, the board of public works, the various directive powers which manage the affairs of the State and municipality are in constant need of light, and the student of the post-graduate department of the university is the person needed to furnish by his special studies the aggregate result of the experience of the world in answering these practical and theoretical wants. In a country studying ever new political questions and questions of sociology, the student who obtains his doctor's degree from the post-graduate course can apply his knowledge, and apply it rationally, without losing his self-possession.

"Since 1880, when our census showed a population of more than fifty millions, we have ascended above the horizon of the great nations of Europe.

"Henceforth we have a new problem, namely, to adjust ourselves to the European unity of civilization. It is absurd to suppose that the problems of diplomacy which will arise in our relations to the states of the Old World can be solved by minds untrained in the university. For it is higher education which takes the students back to historic sources and descends from national beginnings, tracing the stream of events to the various points at which modern nations have arrested their development. Successful diplomacy is not possible without thorough knowledge of national aspirations and their historic genesis.

"It is almost equally important that our home problems, social and political, shall be studied by our university specialists. Perpetual readjustment is before us. There is the new aristocracy of wealth struggling against the aristocracy of birth. To both is opposed the aristocracy of culture, the only one that is permanent. All may come into the aristocracy of culture, but it requires supreme endeavor on the part of the individuals.

"With the great inventions of the age we find ourselves all living on a border land. We are brought into contact with alien nationalities and alien forms of civilization. We are forever placed in antagonism with some environment, material or spiritual, and our endeavor must perforce be to effect a reconciliation—to unite the conflicting ideas in a deeper one that conserves what is good in each. There is no other recourse—we must look to higher education to furnish the formulæ for the solution of the problems of our national life."

Some Recent Acts of the Holy See Concerning Higher Education.—The following paragraph from the encyclical letter of Leo XIII. to the bishops of Scotland, under date of July 25, 1898, is of interest to all the friends of Catholic education, notably the higher education:

"It is likewise of vital importance to defend most strenuously, to establish more firmly, and to surround with every safeguard the Catholic education of youth. We are not unmindful of the fact that in Scotland thoroughly efficient schools exist, in which the best methods of teaching are to be found. But every effort must be put forth and every sacrifice must be made, so that Catholic schools should be second to none in point of efficiency. We must not allow our youth to be inferior to others in literary attainments or in learning, which the Christian faith demands as its honorable accompaniments with a view to its defence and adornment. The love of religion and country requires that whatever institutions Catholics already possess for the purposes of primary, intermediate or higher education, should by the due and proportionate coöperation of all be consolidated and extended. Justice similarly demands that the education and learning of the clergy should be most zealously promoted, as they cannot nowadays occupy worthily and usefully their position unless they have the prestige of wide erudition and solid learning."

The New Rector of Louvain.—In July, 1898, Mgr. Abeloos resigned from the rectorship of the University of Louvain. His health had been failing for some time. The Belgian bishops elected to the rectorship Dr. Hebbelinck, Mgr. Abeloos' assistant, and professor of Patrology and Coptic in the university. The new rector pronounced his inaugural discourse October 18, and in it he gave an interesting account of the development of the university under the rectors who had preceded him in office, De Ram, Laforet, Namêche, Pierrart, Abeloos. Under Mgr. De Ram the five faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Letters and Sciences were founded in 1834. In 1865 he advocated the principle of founding special schools. Under Mgr. Laforet the idea took firm hold and a beginning was made.

Under Mgr. Namêche, the School of Agriculture, the college of Justus Lipsius, and some laboratories were added. Under Mgr. Pierrart the teaching of biology was considerably developed by the creation of new courses and the opening of laboratories. Courses in the Germanic languages were also introduced. Under Mgr. Abeloos, who is a distinguished Orientalist, were created the School of Social and Political Sciences and the School of Commercial and Consular Sciences, and a great impetus was given to the study of natural philosophy, and of his-

torical and biblical criticism. At the end of the first rector's term there were 764 students; at the end of the last, 1,756.

Professor Kurth's Jubilee in Liege.—The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Professor Kurth's Seminar of History in the University of Liège was celebrated November 20th. There were present: M. Scholaert, minister of public instruction; M. Baernaert, president of the chamber; delegations from universities and learned bodies of Belgium and Germany. The idea of the Seminar or *cours pratique* owes its origin to Professor von Ranke, the celebrated German historian. It was introduced into France by Victor Duruy, and into Belgium by Professor Kurth at Liège. Soon every university in Belgium had followed his example.

The celebration of this anniversary in honor of Professor Kurth is due to two former students, M. Pirenne and M. Fredriecq. The latter is known in America by the English translation of his report on the study of history in Germany and France. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. VIII.) The chief works of Professor Kurth are: "Les origines de la Civilisation Chretienne," "Histoire Poétique des Merovingiens," "Clovis," "St. Clotilde," "La frontiere linguistique en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France." Like his eminent colleague of Louvain, Mgr. de Harlez, Professor Kurth takes an active interest in the social movement, being a pronounced Christian Democrat.

The University of Fribourg in Switzerland.—On December 9, 1897, eight professors of the University of Fribourg, which is under the control of the canton, addressed a collective letter to the president of the Council of State offering their resignations, which should take effect April 1, 1898. March 31 they published a memoir containing the following chapters: Notes historiques, Differents de droit privé, La lutte pour l'organisation de l'Université, L'attitude de la faculte de theologie, Conflits de nationlité.

The Catholic papers of France, Belgium and Italy scarcely noticed this remarkable event. Some of them, however, mention the reply to the memoir of the professors. It appeared under the title "L'Université de Fribourg en Suisse et ses detracteurs (*L' Univers*, November 4, 1898). The episode attracted some attention in Rome. Cardinal Rampolla wrote a letter to M. Python, and the Prefect of the Congregation of Studies sent a letter to the University authorities censuring the professors who had seceded. This letter, dated May 23, was not published till December in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica*. The letter of Cardinal Rampolla has not been published.

Instruction to the Friars Minor.—In an important letter to the Friars Minor of St. Francis, dated November 25, 1898, the Pope recalls the

teaching of his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* concerning the philosophy and theology of St. Thomas. He would have them hold fast to the latter while accepting with willingness the proved conclusions of modern science. Recalling the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, he warns them against certain specious but overbold opinions that have only the appearance of truth, especially in the province of the Sacred Scriptures. Of Sacred Eloquence he says, after referring to a previous instruction by the Holy See, that its end is the salvation of the hearers, hence its true scope is "to teach morality, reprove vice, and in a becoming way explain the truths necessary for eternal salvation."

The Constitution of the Jesuits and the Doctrine of St. Thomas.—After a long silence the Catholic reviews are beginning to publish the very important document by which Leo XIII. gives an authentic interpretation of the Constitution of the Jesuit Order as far as it concerns the study of the philosophy and the theology of St. Thomas. (See *Canoniste Contemporain* Sept., Oct., 1898; *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, July, '98.) The document, which is of the date December 30, 1892, was published in the Acta Leonis XIII, vol. 12, in 1893. Considering its importance, it is hard to understand how it escaped the notice of our theological reviews, even of those published by the Jesuit Fathers.

Studies in the Seminary of Seville.—Faculties of theology, canon law, and philosophy were recently instituted in the Seminary of Seville. Seven documents bearing on them may be found in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, October, 1898. The provincial council of Burgos, held April 24th to May 4th, invited competition for the writing of eleven works, which might serve as manuals in the seminaries and colleges. The time for these compositions extends to June 30, 1901. The successful works will be published by the province and the profits will belong to the authors.

The Seminary of Luxembourg.—By a degree of September 14, 1898, faculties of theology and philosophy were instituted in the Seminary of Luxembourg with the right to confer degrees. (See *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, November, 1898.)

The University of Manila.—We take the following from *The Rosary* of November, '98, regarding the University of Manila:

"The university was founded about two centuries ago and confided to the care of the Dominicans. It is attended about entirely by the natives, Filipinos, as they call themselves. The following account of the studies pursued in the university is taken from the official report of the year:

"The Faculty of Theology and Canon Law has the following courses of lectures: 1. A course of Ontology, Cosmology and Natural Religion·

2. The Controversial Course. 3. Dogmatic Theology. 4. Moral Theology and Sacred Eloquence. 5. Sacred Scripture. 6. Canon Law. 7. Ecclesiastical Procedure and Discipline, as used in Churches in the East. 8. Ecclesiastical History. The eight lecturers in this faculty were Dominicans. There were thirty students.

"Faculty of Jurisprudence: 1. Metaphysics. 2. Spanish Literature. 3. Constitutional History of Spain and Natural Law. 4. Canon Law. 5. Political Economy. 6. Ecclesiastical Discipline. There were six Dominicans and nine other professors teaching in this faculty. The students numbered 405.

"Faculty of Law: In this faculty one Dominican and eleven other professors lectured. There were sixty students.

"Faculty of Medicine: 1. Physics. 2. Chemistry. 3. Mineralogy and Botany. Three Dominican and thirteen other professors lectured in this faculty. There were 277 students.

"Faculty of Pharmacy: There were eighty-nine students. In the schools of practical pharmacy there were 216 students. Three Dominicans, who lectured in Chemistry, Zoology, Mineralogy and Botany, and seven other professors taught in this faculty."[1]

Conference of Librarians at St. Gall.—An international conference of librarians was held September 30 and October 1, 1898, at St. Gall, in Switzerland. Its purpose was to examine the dangers which threaten the preservation of old Greek and Latin MSS., and to study the method of protecting them. Father Ehrle, prefect of the Vatican Library, who was the instigator of the conference, published an article recently on the same problem.[2] In it the author treats the causes of danger not only to the palempsist MSS. on which chemicals have been used to bring out the first text, but as well to the others injured by the action of ink used by copyists.

The following resolutions were adopted by the conference:

1. That a list of the old and important MSS. be made which are in danger of being destroyed.

2. That photographs of them be made to determine their actual condition.

3. That a committee be formed whose purpose it will be

(*a*) To prepare the list indicated. (*b*) To take care that the photo-

[1] Evidently there are some errors in this report, but we have at hand no other source of information.

[2] Sur la conservation et la restauration des anciens MSS.; Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 1898, t. XV.

The article was translated into French by M. Dorez in the *Revue des Bibliothèques*, t. VIII, and copied in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, t. LIX.*

graphs be made as soon as possible. (*c*) To study the means of preserving the MSS. and suggest those which seem best. (*d*) To publish at once methods suggested during the conference. (*e*) To establish relations with librarians and technical experts in order to facilitate the execution of these resolutions. (*f*) To seek subsidies from governments to aid the work.

4. That pending the study of the committee (at least till autumn, 1899) only such methods be employed in particular cases as offer the greatest certainty and as will not hinder the adoption of new methods which may later be recommended. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, September, October, 1898.

French University Publications.—In the *Revue internationale de l'Enseignement*, M. F. Lot gives a view of the periodical publications of the state provincial universities of France. He concludes: "The final impression one gets from this rapid review is that though much has been done in France, there is still much to be done."

The Religious Movement in France.—A striking proof of the religious vitality of France is seen in the Congress of Young Catholics held at Besançon, beginning November 17th. A remarkable feature was Brunetière's discourse on the "Need of Faith." It was published later in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. About the same time the twenty-fifth general assembly of the Catholics of the Nord and du Pas de Calais took place.

In the same month the National Catholic Congress was held in Paris, on the 27th. Among the papers presented we mention in particular that of M. Senderens, director of the Ecole Superieure des Sciences in the Institute of Toulouse, on the means of developing the study of the sciences among the younger clergy.

NECROLOGIES (for 1898.)[1]

ROSELLY DE LORGUES died in Paris January 3, 1898, at the age of 93. He is best known through his studies on the life of Columbus, written rather from an apologetical than critical point of view. "Christophe Colomb, histoire de sa vie et de ses voyages, d'aprés les documents authentiques tirés d'Espagne et d'Italie," 2 vols., 1852; "L'ambassadeur de Dieu et le Pape Pie IX," 1 vol. in 8, 1874; "Satan contre Christophe Colomb ou la pretendue chute du serviteur de Dieu," 1876, 1 vol. in 8; Christophe Colomb, serviteur de Dieu son apostolat, sa sainteté," 1884, 1 vol. in 8; "Histoire posthume de Christophe Colomb," 1885, 1 vol. in 8.

GUISEPPE OTTINO died at Turin January 12. He was an eminent bibliographer. He published a "Manuale di Bibliografia" and the "Bibliotheca bibliographica Italiana." In the latter work he was assisted by Fumagalli.

OLLÉ-LAPRUNE, master of conferences in the Ecole Normale Supérieure at Paris, died February 13. He was a man of deep religious convictions and an eminent philosopher. His chief works are: "Philosophie de Malebranche," 1870, 2 vols in 8; "De la certitude morale," 1880, 1 vol. in 8; "Essai sur la morale d'Aristote," 1881, 1 vol. in 8; "Les sources de la paix intellectuelle," 1892, 1 vol. in 18; "Le prix de la vie," 1894, 1 vol. in 18. He was actively connected with *Le Correspondant* and *La Quinzaine.* Articles on his life and work appeared in *Etudes Religieuses,* October 20, and the *Revue Générale,* April and May.

PIERRE WILLEMS, professor in the University of Louvain, member of the Belgian Academy, died February 23. His best known works are: "Droit public Romain," 1 vol. in 8; "Le Sénat de la republique Romaine," 3 vols. in 8. Both are works of the greatest erudition. He published many excellent papers on the organization of higher studies and contributed to the *Bulletin* and to the *Annuaire* of the Belgian Academy many learned notes. He wrote frequently in Flemish and in French in the Belgian reviews.

CHARLES SCHEFER, member of the Institute, head of the School of Oriental Languages and professor of Persian, died at Paris March 4. He published many learned works on the Orient, some of which are contained in the "Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales" and in the "Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIII siècle jusqu à la fin du XV siècle."

[1]Taken largely from the Polybiblion of 1898.

P. DE HAULLEVILLE died at Brussels April 25. He was formerly director of the *Revue Générale* and of the *Journal de Bruxelles.* He had been a professor in the University of Ghent and in the Military School, and was at the head of the royal museums of decorative and industrial arts. Aside from many contributions to papers and reviews, he is the author of the following works: "Histoire des communes Lombardes," 2 vols., 1859; "Les Institutions représentatives en Autriche," 1 vol., 1863; "Les allemands depuis la guerre de sept ans, 1 vol., 1869; "De l'enseignement primaire en Belgique," 1 vol., 1870; "La définition du droit," 1 vol., 1879; "De l'avenir des peuples catholiques. (Reply to Em. de Laveleye.) An article on him appeared in the *Revue Générale* of June.

ALPHONSE WAUTERS, archivist of Brussels, died May 1. His publications are numerous. The chief of them were: "Histoire civile, politique et monumentale de la ville de Bruxelles," 3 vols. in 8; "Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés concernant l'histoire de Belgique," 10 vols. in 4. This latter work was criticised with severity by Reusens, of Louvain, in two brochures, published in 1893, under the title "Questions de chronologie et d'histoire."

LUDOVIC LALANE, librarian of the Institute, died May 16, aged 84. His chief work was the "Dictionnaire historique de la France." He published also the "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le régne de François I.," and the works of Malherbe and of Brantôme. An article on him appeared in the September-October number of *La Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes.*

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE died May 19, aged 89. As statesman, orator, savant, he had led a most active life. In view of the extensive notices which his recent death called forth, we mention only a few of his many works: "The State in its Relation with the Church," 1858; "Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age," 3 vols., 1858; "Juventus Mundi, the Gods and the Men of the Heroic Age," 1 vol., 1869; "The Church of England and Ritualism," 1 vol., 1875; "Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion;" "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance," 1874. This last named work was refuted by Newman and Manning; it seems to have been the source of little satisfaction to the author.

FRIEDRICH MULLER, professor of linguistics and of Sanskrit in the University of Vienna, died May 24. A list of his publications extending to the greatest variety of questions of linguistics would be too long for this notice. It may be found in the *Polybiblion* of July, p. 86.

PHILLIP TAMISEY DEL ARROQUE died in May. He was a member of the Institute, a contributor to many scientific periodicals. He was a man of extraordinary versatility, enjoying the friendship of numberless learned men. M. Monod says of him that he was a man of a well-regulated, docile and reasonable piety worthy of a Huet and a Gassendi. His writings are very numerous. Articles may be found on him in *La Revue historique*, July-August; *Le Bulletin Critique*, June 5; *Les Etudes Religieuses*, December 5 and 20, etc.

AUGUSTE BRACHET, the eminent French philologist, died in June. He published a "Grammaire historique de la langue française" and a "Dictionnaire etymologyque." The former work passed through forty editions.

JOHN CAIRD died July 13. His personality more than his writings made him remarkable. "He stood forth, the representative figure in a re-orientation of what is still most typical in Scottish life, religion" (*New World*, December, '98.). He published three volumes, one of university addresses, one of university sermons and one containing the "Glasgow Gifford Lectures."

OTTO VON BISMARCK died July 30. During his lifetime collections of his speeches and letters appeared in many languages. His memoirs have just appeared. Whatever the ultimate and lasting fame of this great man, we must admit, as did he implicitly, that his entire political life was inspired by the principle that the end justifies the means.

A. RIVIER, professor in the University of Brussels, died July 21. He was secretary of the Institute of International Law and for a time editor of the *Revue de Droit International*. He published some works on Roman law, the chief of which was "Précis du droit de famille Romain." He is the author of some studies in the history of the law of nations, and he translated, completed and annotated the "Eléments du droit international privé" of Asser.

KARL KNIES, professor of political economy in the University of Heidelberg, died August 2. He was one of the lights of the historical school in Germany. "The Annals of the American Academy," vol. XIII, p. 96, publishes the list of his works. The best known are: "Die politische Oekonomie vom Standpunkte der geschichtlichen Methode," 2 ed., 1883; "Geld und Credit." Knies' place in economics is discussed by Cossa in "Intr. allo studio dell' Economia politica," and by Block in "Progrés de la science économique."

GEORGE EBERS, the eminent Egyptologist and professor in Leipsic University, died August 7. He commenced the publication of his famous

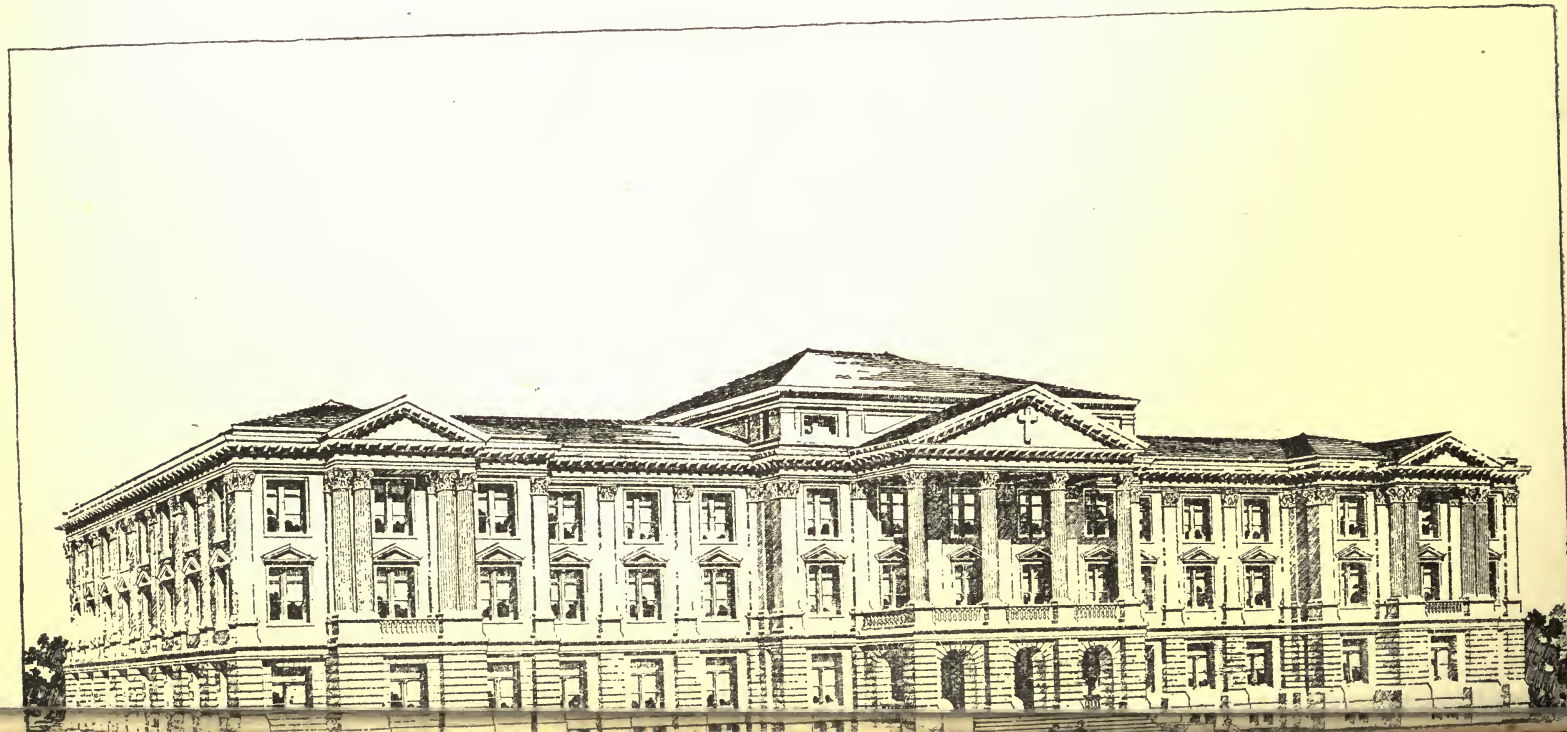
papyrus in 1873. He was a prolific writer. Aside from scientific work, he wrote a number of archaeological romances and others describing the countries where he had lived.

GABRIEL DE MORTILLET, geologist, died September 25. Most of his numerous works are impregnated with a sectarian spirit. The best known of them is "Matériaux pour l'histoire positive et philosophique de l'homme," 1894, in 4.

DAVID AMES WELLS, economist, honorary member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, died November 5. He was at one time professor in the Lawrence Academy, and was also head of the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department. He wrote "Relation of Tariff to Wages," "Recent Economic Changes;" "The Decay of Our Ocean Mercantile Marine: America and Europe." He was born in 1827, and was intimately connected with every movement for civil service reform and free trade. He was a popular educator in the highest sense.

ALPHONSE HUBER, formerly professor in Innsbruck, later in Vienna, died November 23. His history of Austria gave him a prominent place among contemporary historians. A list of his works may be found in the *Polybiblion.*

LUCIEN BRUN, the eminent jurisconsult, senator and professor in the Catholic University of Lyons, died November 29. His best known works are "L'Introduction à l'étude du droit," and "L'enseignement du droit dans les facultés Catholiques." He assisted Cardinal Mermillod in instituting the Congress of Catholic Jurisconsults, which has held annual congresses since 1876.



EW COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS.

er the Very Rev. Dr. Zahm, Provincial of the Congregation oss, purchased the beautiful tract of land known as Rose- g the Catholic University, with the view of erecting on it ie use of the advanced ecclesiastical students of his order. as then announced that work on the contemplated building nenced at an early date, it will, we think, be a matter of ny of our readers to learn that ground has already been at Holy Cross College,—such is the name of the new in- o be ready for occupancy early next September.

for the Holy Cross College have been drawn by Mr. A. whose plans for the Supreme Court building in the Na- have been accepted by the U. S. Senate. The style of s will be observed from the accompanying illustration, is classical, and while embodying some of the most attractive ch famous and imposing structures as the Lichtenstein na and the Palazzo Farnese of Rome, it is nevertheless of ty and admirably adapted for the purpose for which it is exterior of the edifice will be of Indiana limestone and te, which will be so distributed as to bring out in bold rnal beauties of the building. The interior arrangements ave received particular attention both from Dr. Zahm, who e man, and thoroughly familiar with all the great educa- ons of this country and Europe, and from Mr. von Her- made a special study of the sanitary, as well as of the s of modern architecture. The plumbing and ventilation ld be desired, and judging from what we have seen of the ifications, Holy Cross College will be second to no institu- g in the country in the perfection of its appointments.

e University, of which Holy Cross College is a branch, is beauty of its many buildings. Dr. Zahm, in selecting the ew building, doubtless wished to have a structure that hy of the institution with which he has so long been so, he may flatter himself that he has attained his pur- e Dame, too, will have every reason to be proud of her ter in the capital of the nation. From an inspection of ould say that Holy Cross College in point of architectural

beauty will compare favorably not only with the other educational buildings of our city, but also with any of the many beautiful buildings for which Washington is so celebrated. Situated, as it will be, on the wooded summit of Rosemont, commanding a view of the surrounding country, it will, when viewed from a distance, remind one of some majestic temple on one of the sylvan heights of ancient Attica.

As was announced, when the property on which the new building is to be erected was purchased, Holy Cross College is intended for those members of the Congregation of the Holy Cross who have taken their degrees in the University of Notre Dame, and who come here to complete their theological course, or who are to do post-graduate work in some of the many departments of the Catholic University. Most of the students of the new institution will equip themselves for future work in the various educational institutions conducted by the Congregation of the Holy Cross in the New and in the Old World. Still others will prepare themselves for missionary and cognate work, for which such wide fields have been opened in our recently acquired territories.

Dr. Zahm, as is well known, is an ardent advocate of the higher education of the clergy. His books and contributions to the press are full of the subject, and now that he has been given charge of the province of his order in the United States he is evidently determined to put in execution what he has so long and so strenuously been urging as one of the prime necessities of our age and country. Like the eloquent Bishop Spalding, who has during the past few days been delighting us with his masterly lectures on education, Dr. Zahm is of the opinion that the education of priests should be "the highest education of man, since the ideal of the Christian priest is the most exalted, his vocation the most sublime, his office the most holy, his duties the most spiritual, and his mission, whether we consider its relation to morality, which is the basis of individual and social welfare, or to religion, which is the promise and secret of immortal and God-like life, is the most important and the most sacred which can be assigned to a human being." He insists with the learned prelate of Peoria, that the priest must "possess the best mental culture of his age, that without this he fights with broken weapons, speaks with harsh voice a language men will neither hear nor understand, teaches truths which, having not the freshness and glow of truth, neither kindle the heart nor fire the imagination." With Bishop Spalding, Dr. Zahm declares that "in the face of the modern world that which the Catholic priest most needs, after virtue, is the best cultivation of mind, which issues in comprehensiveness of view, in exactness of perception, in the clear discernment of the relations of truths and of the limitations of scientific knowledge, in fairness and flexibility of thought, in ease and grace

of expression, in candor, in reasonableness; the intellectual culture which brings the mind into form, gives it the control of its faculties, creates the habit of attention and develops firmness of grasp."

In his well-known address before the International Catholic Scientific Congress at Brussels some years ago Dr. Zahm outlined a programme of study for the clergy. Will he now carry it into effect in the college which he has just founded? And will he be able to realize his lofty ideals? His friends say he will, and point to the results achieved by him in building up the splendid school of science at Notre Dame University as an evidence of his earnestness and persistence of purpose in a work to which he is thoroughly devoted.

In connection with Holy Cross College, Dr. Zahm, we are informed, purposes organizing at Notre Dame a special school for candidates for the priesthood who have not the means of educating themselves. Many of the brightest and most promising youths of the country, young men who are eager to devote themselves to the service of God in religion, are ofter prevented from carrying out their wishes because their parents are unable to defray the heavy expenses incident to the long and arduous courses of study through which they must pass before they can be raised to the dignity of the priesthood. To those deserving youths, Dr. Zahm intends to extend a helping hand, and thus secure for the service of the Church many who would otherwise despair of ever realizing their fond dreams of becoming ministers of the Most High.

Holy Cross College, we have stated, is to be completed early next September, but it will not be formally dedicated until next October, at the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Catholic University. The archbishops of the country will then likewise have their annual meeting, and the occasion will be an auspicious one for the consecrating to science and religion an institution from which so much is expected. In ecclesiastical circles the event promises to be the most important which has occurred since the solemn opening nine years ago of the Catholic University of America.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE,

e Right Rev. Rector delivered a lecture at Boston, December 18th, the auspices of the Irish Charitable Society on "Ireland's Influ- n the Character of the Nations." He also assisted at the fall g in New York of the Association of Preparatory Schools of lvania and Maryland.

quest from Mr. David T. Leahy.—By the will of the late Mr. David hy, of Brooklyn, the University receives the sum of $10,000. It named as residuary legatee in the case of his son and heir dying t issue. Mr. Leahy was a prominent business man of New York The University is profoundly grateful for this mark of his interest ection.

quest by Rev. Patrick Cuddihy.—The venerable pastor of Mil- lass., left $1,000 to the University in his will. May he rest in The University is extremely grateful for all such continued of the interest taken in its work by the reverend clergy.

eption by the University Club.—On December 15th, a very bril- eception was given by the University Club. Assembly Hall was lled with the friends who came from Brookland and the city. The ement deserves great credit for the perfection of all the details.

e Latest Number of Pittonia.—Below we give the contents of the number for May–September, 1898, of *Pittonia*, (vol. III, part botanical periodical issued by our colleague, Professor Greene: r Noteworthy Violets, Critical Notes on Antennaria, The Gen- lycodium and Batodendron, New Species of Convolvulus, Some ian Violets, A Fascicle of New Labiatæ, New or Noteworthy Spe- XIII.

THE LAW SCHOOLS.

e Professional School of Law opened the academic year with -eight students, of whom eight are at present satisfying the re- ients of their local bars by spending the period from Easter, 1898, ter, 1899, in study in a home office or law school and will return e their examinations and degrees in June. The introduction of rvard Case System into the work of the middle and senior classes ain subjects, under the supervision of James A. McDonald, Esq.,

an alumnus of the Harvard Law School, has proved eminently s ful, and the system will be extended to several other branches coming year.

The number of students in the University School of Law has increased. All these students are graduates of law schools and cept two are members of the bar. The nature of the work in they are engaged will appear from the following list:

Names.	*Residence.*	*Major*
Brainard Avery, LL.M. (Cath. Univ.)	Rutland, Vt.	Corpor
John A. Boyd, LL.B. (Georgetown)	Washington, D. C.	Corpor
Clarence M. Burne, (Chicago) (Washington)	Washington, D. C.	Ecclesiastica
Rossa F. Downing, LL.M. (Georgetown) (Columbian)	Washington, D. C.	Corpor
William A. Edwards, LL.M. (Georgetown)	Covington, Ga.	Roma
Jean F. P. des Garennes, LL.M. (Georgetown)	Washington, D. C.	Corpor
Charles H. Goddard, LL.B (Chicago)	Hurley, S. Dak.	Constitution
Theodor Papezoglon Ion, J. C. L (Paris)	Washington, D. C.	Internationa
John L. Love, LL.B. (Cath. Univ.)	Washington, D. C.	Constitutiona
Lawrence O. Murrray, D.C.L. (Cath. Univ.)	Washington, D. C.	Ecclesiastica
Tazio Okada, LL.B. (Yale)	Tokio, Japan	Roma
Walter C. Pierce, LL. B. (Tulane)	New Orleans, La.	Jurispru
Owen W. Reddy, LL.B. (Cath. Univ.)	Newburyport, Mass.	Corpor
George J. Twohy, LL.B. (Cath. Univ.)	Norfolk, Va.	Corpor
John G. Williams, LL.M. (National)	Washington, D. C.	Corpor

As the faculty have already made arrangements to conduct s the seminars connected with these University Law Courses at ments in the immediate vicinity of the Capitol and Congressior brary, the rapid development of this school is confidently expecte

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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SAINT PAUL: TEACHER OF THE NATIONS.[1]

I.

With its own subtle sense of justice the Christian Church has conferred from very remote antiquity the title of doctor or teacher on certain famous bishops like Augustine or Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen or Chrysostom. She has recognized in these men sanctity of life, depth and purity, vastness and pertinency of doctrine, evident vocation, and large discipleship. And these have sufficed in her eyes to make her single out such men and lift them up on the great cathedrae of authority, whence their very words in all future time become spiritual law and guidance, as once the opinions of an Ulpian or a Papinian sufficed for the citizen of Rome or Antioch. The world has always yearned for instruction. Man is an *animal docile*, a teachable animal. Whether it be poet, prophet, law-giver, king, judge, philosopher, or historian,—man has always admired, sometimes too ardently, those who have loosened the bonds of his ignorance and taught him necessary truths, useful arts, the reasons of things, the mysteries of life and death. Of all the Greek myths that of Prometheus, the teaching-god, is the most human-natural; he must be cold indeed who can read unmoved the woeful plaint of this bright spirit, riveted by jealous Zeus "with clenching teeth of adamant" to the stony face of Caucasus!

[1] Discourse delivered on the occasion of the Commemoration of the Conversion of St. Paul (Jan. 25), feast of the Faculty of Theology.

To this immemorial gratitude of our race we owe the names and deeds of a Solon and a Lycurgus, a Numa, a Socrates, an Herodotus, to speak only of those worthies whom the classic peoples have embalmed in their memories as their best and greatest teachers.

It was not, therefore, without reason that the Christian Church symbolized her gratitude for the services of her great teachers by the selection of an ancient term, which she elevated from mean surroundings, and consecrated henceforth to the illustrious company of those who teach the things of God, the soul, human conduct, the future life, the nature, qualities, beauties, and uses of all being,—notably of man, and the world and the infinite relations of the creature to the Creator.

We are gathered to-day to make our yearly commemoration of the selection of such a teacher at a turning-point of the world's history. Only, a teacher immeasurably greater than any Augustine or Chrysostom, one at whose feet they confessed themselves happy to listen and learn, a teacher whose calling was directly from the mouth of God Himself, whose doctrine was acquired by no slow process of human training, but poured from above into his capacious mind, even as the drawer of water fills his vase or urn from the generous outpouring of the fountain.

Paulus Doctor Gentium! Paul the Teacher of the Nations! This is an ancient title, so ancient that it comes down to us from those dim ages when the first Christians were making, not writing, history. It is imbedded in the oldest and sweetest prayers of the Roman Church. It must have echoed in the centuries of persecution from the mouth of a Pius or a Cornelius as he besought the intercession of the founders of his see. It is solemnly acknowledged by the original churches as often as they make mention of the episcopal supremacy, the "pontificium" of St. Peter. Indeed, more than once he lays claim to it himself, directly, as in the Epistle to the Galatians (c. II) and indirectly in the account of his conversion that the Acts furnish us (c. IX). It is as a teacher that he makes his first public appearance in the Christian communities, as autodidact, as ἰσαπόστολος, the equal of any of the twelve in knowledge and commission. And throughout

the documents that have come to us from his hand he maintains at its original high rating the office of teacher, whether he be summarizing in vigorous and luminous traits the history of human morals, or expounding the philosophy of human wrong and imperfection, or pleading for a fugitive slave, or reviewing the astounding dealings of God with Israel.

But no teacher becomes such without preparation. He may be called out of the regular order, and his doctrine may be delivered to him, *totum teres atque rotundum*, from a superior and infallible source. Yet he is a man, with a mind and a heart. He has behind him infancy and boyhood and youth. There are in him indestructible elements of heredity, parental, racial, mental. And he has lived in given surroundings, long, intimately, unsuspectingly,—among other men who themselves are mouthpieces of old tradition and custom. His mind and heart have each their own life-history, very even and uneventful, it may be,—and then again, perhaps, very checkered, broken, and stormy. Still, in either case, there is in every human soul an organic growth, an unfolding as of a flower or a fruit. Indeed, what flower or fruit suffers the thousand delicate, shifting, elusive influences that the mind of a child does,—influences more varied, more constant than the play of shadow and sunlight, the motion of the atmosphere, the flowing ether, the heaving of the sea?

So this Jew, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, in that hollow of the Mediterranean where the Hellene and the Semite were wont to meet as at a common outpost, bore all his life the traces of his early education. It colored his teaching, his arguments, his language, his similes. He was an Hellenistic Jew, but not like that Jew whom Aristotle knew and who was an Hellene in very spirit and temper, not like those Asmonæans and Herodians who were even then frittering away the last relics of the traditions of Israel. No, Paul was a Jew, *intus et in cute*, of the soundest "stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, as touching the Law a Pharisee." He had gone through the primary schools of the Jewish quarter at Tarsus, had learned the text and the interpretation of the Law, perhaps been the equal of Josephus who was a learned teacher of it at the age of fourteen. Thrice a day he had

turned his face to the Holy City and poured out the glorious benedictions of the Schmone-Esre, the Jewish Credo, the very text which one may yet read in any Jewish book of prayer. Twice a day he had piously uttered the Schma, the confession of Jahve's unity and power and glory taken from Deuteronomy and Numbers,—the Doxology of Judaism. He had worshipped regularly in the synagogue by the blue and tideless waters that laved the wharves of his native town. There he read the Scriptures through in a three years course, commented on them and heard them commented on. He observed the three signs of a strict Jew,—the fragments of white wool on the four corners of his cloak that kept the commandments before him, the little roll of parchment containing the Law hung up on the right-hand door post of his room, the Tephillim or the parchment slip of the Law fastened upon his right arm, and the Tephilla or similar slip bound tight upon his forehead. In the observance of sabbaths, foods, fastings, purifications, none was stricter than Saul of Tarsus. And when he went up, between thirteen and sixteen, to the advanced school or academy of Gamaliel at Jerusalem, every Pharisee and Scribe rejoiced, for now a new strength appeared upon the horizon, even a youth of destiny. He was indeed a little Origen of the Jews, whose bosom seemed already the abiding place of the Holy Spirit,—a refreshing fountain of prophecy so long dried up.

Nevertheless, in all these years he had not escaped the omnipresent influences of Hellas. Since Alexander, the Orient was slave to the charm and the puissance of Greek letters, Greek art, and Greek philosophy. Parthian kings assisted at the plays of Euripides, and the Greek drama left the impress of its genius even beyond the Indus and as far as the sacred waters of the Ganges. Asia Minor, though only its fringes were Greek in blood, counted numerous cities of Greek origin scattered among the ancient inhabitants of its high valleys and tablelands. This was notably the case along all the great roads by sea or by land. And Tarsus was at the juncture of two such roads, the sea-way coming westward from the Hellespont and northward from Tyre, Sidon or Caesarea, and the land-way that came down through the deep and narrow passes of

Cilicia. In the time of Paul it was even an academic centre. The Stoic Zeno had once lived there and caught from life-worn and world-wise Orientals the germs of his powerful doctrine. Roman law was doubtless taught in its schools, or in not distant Berytus. There is some slight smattering of Greek culture, not in style or thought, but in fragments of poetry or proverbs, in the great Apostle. He knows considerable about the law of the Empire. He has not the pastoral simplicity of Amos, or the love of nature of Isaias, but draws his metaphors from the camp, the arena, the lives of soldier and wrestler and runner, from the city-world, the world of resolve and action. When he was not earning his living by weaving the coarse Cilician cloth made of goats' hair, he must have had leisure to move about among the splendid monuments of old Greek civilization, temples, baths, markets, porticoes, hippodromes, fountains, statues, inscriptions. Here, too, perhaps, in this old centre of Greek and Oriental philosophies, in this minor university town, he imbibed that supreme contempt for the "wisdom of the world," "the disputers of the world," the "loftiness of human speech," the "persuasive, the learned words of human wisdom." Such phrases refer not to human reason, but to the impotency of philosophy to usurp the office of religion. One day in Athens the disputers will call him, in turn, a "sower of words," and turn a contemptuous back upon his glorious message. But his teaching will grow, and Justinian will at last close their useless schools that a Nero is now flattering.

The soul of Paul, then, must have undergone a remarkable formation. It was filled with intense religious enthusiasm from youth. It was forced into profound acquaintance with the theology of Judaism. Its fibre was hardened like finest steel by hourly conflict with self, by reasoned contempt of human wisdom and glory, above all by the worship of an ideal Messias of Israel who should one day reward him and his for their most painful finical fidelity to the Law, their long sorrowing exile among these infidel Greeks and Asiatics,—a Messias who should come, even soon, in splendor and majesty and power, and inaugurate in the Holy City the final reign of the just and the saints, of all those who had been loyal and true

as adamant in the midst of wretched apostasy and pitiful composition and accommodation.

It was a mighty time, big with the new humanity, one to which all the ages had been looking forward as to their complement, the very fullness of time. The melodious Mantuan and the aged Simeon echo the same cry of the bursting human heart. The forces of the earth were erasing or eliminating one another in favor of Rome. The political world was taking on an entirely new bent and trend, to last for many a day—nay, to our own time, just as when the material cover of earth was finally warped and swollen and sunk into its actual shape. The agitation of the times threw out extraordinary characters, —Syllas, Pompeys, Caesars, Herods, Augusti,—in the mad race for the prize of universal dominion. It was truly a struggle of god-like giants of personality.

But for firmness and tenacity of purpose, clear vision of his scope and the means to realize it, utter self-abandoning devotion to a cause infinitely higher and holier than himself; for long-biding patience, intense sustained activity, iron will that laughs all obstacles away; for thorough dominancy of men and situations, and the power to compel the whole army of his workers within the lines laid down by his own personal genius,—in a word for all the qualities of a commander, St. Paul is more than equal to any man of his time. This is the view of St. Chrysostom, perhaps the most sympathetic and observant of the students of St. Paul, out of whose delicate analysis more than one modern has drawn.

In St. Paul character shines out dominant, supreme. Out of whatever loom came that great heart and mind, they were of one pattern, fitted perfectly to one another. He is a man, rude and hard and stern, if you will, but certain, self-identical, reliable. There is in him no shiftiness of the ordinary apostate, no plasticity of the standard Greek. It is always yea, yea, or nay, nay. He sees all things in one clear, strong, unwavering light, a light that so permeates his conscience and floods its remotest corners that he may not be false to it. Through all theorizing and casuistry of human ingenuity, Jew and Greek, he sees the original golden threads of duty and righteousness that lead directly from the soul to God. And seeing them he seizes them and holds them forevermore.

It is because St. Paul, as a disciple of Judaism, developed every native energy of his being that he was one day pre-eminently fitted for the office of a teacher; because in him the most ideal Judaism of the last days came to the front that he was fitted above all other Jews to be specially called by Jesus; because in his heart met the tides of Pharisaism and Hellenism, that he was chosen to be the saving unction of the latter. Who else of the Pharisees had the magnanimous soul capable of penning the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, of announcing an apostleship for obedience to the faith in all nations for the name of Jesus Christ, of declaring himself debtor to the Greeks and to the barbarians, i. e., to all humanity?

II.

The world was indeed the only fit school for a man of his training. Alexander wept because he had no more worlds to conquer; Paul was heart-broken because he could not offer to his Master, Christ, every one of those miniature worlds called men, in whom alone the outer world has meaning, praise, end, and dignity. For over thirty years this extraordinary teacher travelled the highways and the by-ways of the Orbis Terrarum,—the Greco-Roman world of antiquity. It is doubtful if any official or legionary was more frequently on the great strata or roads that bound the principal cities; certain that none traveled them more foot-sore, worn, and weary, but radiant with faith and beaming with resolution. Who knows as he that narrow strip of Syrian coast, northward from Caesarea, scarcely more than a ribbon of stony pathway in some places? How often he read the pompous inscriptions of dead conquerors on the rocks above him! There is the Gulf of Issus on whose shores Darius staked and lost the Orient! There are the Gates of Syria and the Gates of Cilicia through which all Eastern conquerors have passed to reach the highlands of Asia Minor and thence the Hellespont! How often he crossed and recrossed the Ægean and the Mediterranean, moving among the islands famous in ancient story! There is the coast of proconsular Asia with its five hundred Greek cities, its rich trade with East and West piled up in Miletum and Smyrna and Ephesus, its countless ateliers of

Rhodian sculptors, the remnants of whose works now fill the museums of a world, its schools of philosophers, poets, and rhetoricians,—all its golden human life, abundant, throbbing, and varied! There, too, is old Ilion, on the slope of Ida, between Simois and Scamander; and if the Apostle knew Homer, perhaps some verses of that strange shadowy struggle of men and gods crossed his mind, as the timid, shore-keeping galley drifted by, so close, perhaps, that his eyes could rest on "Maeander's crooked arms" and "Xanthus' gulfy flood."

It was a time of infinite curiosity and endless peregrination, this golden age of peace and wealth,—but in Paul of Tarsus there is no trace of things that were then, and to him minor and insignificant. On every journey he is the herald of Jesus Christ. Whether he toils among the mountains of Cappadocia, or the plateaus of Galatia, or the swamps of Lycaonia; whether he goes from one Macedonian town to another, or crosses the Midland Sea to face great Caesar himself,—he is everywhere and always teacher, missionary, apostle, prophet, founder. In all history there is no such example of sustained concern and anxiety for the growth of an idea. And if the origins of our religion are mean and humble as far as power and wealth go, they are grandiose, sublime, if we reflect on the men who planted it, the hardships they bore, the contempt they lived down, the hatred they turned to love, the love they lifted to the enthusiasm of martyrdom.

What a world it was! The external order was faultless; the Roman Peace was everywhere observed, save by a wandering pirate or some irreducible brigands. Arts and letters and philosophy flourished on all sides. Commerce grew and industry flourished, and the court-poets could flatter the brain of the vast machine that the golden age of Saturn had come, precisely at the time when the Jews looked for a Messias who was to break the wings and crush the talons of that Roman eagle which looked down exultantly from the gates of the Holy City.

But withal it was a hard and a wicked world. And when its apologists have said all that can be said for it, there remains yet so sad a picture that the heart instinctively shudders, a picture of might priming right without the defence

of eternal protest, of labor despised and poverty trampled upon, of slaves without rights, children without moral training, and women without honor or respect. The moral sense was all but dead. Philosophy had lost its power over the multitudes, even if it served to console or guide an unhappy few. Letters were yet a thing of joy, a refuge. But when did letters ever fill the cravings of the soul that is morally weak and unsettled? Moral advice never flowed more elegantly than from the lips of Seneca, yet who followed it? He himself as little as any one. The Stoics themselves felt that what was wanted was a model, a perfect just man, in whom every virtue should see mirrored all its possibilities. It was this personality which Christianity offered. It bridged by the life of Christ the hopeless gulf between the abstract and the concrete. And then it sent forth into the world universal teachers like Paul who lived over again, as men, the life of their Divine Teacher, and shed on all sides the aroma of His infinite virtue.

III.

As a teacher St. Paul has had no equal in the history of humanity. Overflowing with the consciousness that his doctrine is not of man, but of God, he knows no wavering, but goes straight to the point at issue,—Jesus Christ is God and Man. He was crucified and rose again. In Him our broken and weakened nature was dipped, as it were, in a refreshing bath, and a new love and energy added to it. We are again, by these mysteries, children of the Father now appeased, and brothers of the Son of God who has atoned through all eternity for the shortcomings of human nature, has wiped out the contractual slavery under Satan, and reopened the narrow but straight path to eternal life, to re-union with the juridical head of our race, Christ Jesus, foreshadowed by Adam's original headship and responsibility.

It is a deep and subtle teaching, so deep that the plummet of thought has not yet fathomed its last recesses, so subtle that it furnishes food for minds of every type and calibre. This first commentator on the Life of Christ rose at one bound to the highest empyrean of thought, and exhausted all the fundamental capacities of the mind as against the life and

spirit of Jesus. Paul may defend his conclusions by a sublime dialectic of his own, very peculiar and very forceful. He has not reached them by any slow-winding staircase of digressive thought. Paul has seen; it has been revealed unto him, in the blinding light of that dread hour amid the flowery fields and apple orchards and flowing waters that surround Damascus, in the cabinet of Ananias, in those three years of meditation and self-searching beyond the lines of Greek and Jewish life,—among the aboriginal Saracens or Bedouins of the Arabian desert. Here he has learned to know the difference between the spirit of the law, its scope and character, and the ugly thorny hedge which degenerate doctors had built up about it. Here God transformed, in the silence and peace of nature, the proud and ardent soul into an instrument of choice, supple, devoted, courageous, intelligent. He shed the fantastic theology of the Pharisees; he rose to a sublime conception of the One God as Father, all-merciful, the parent of all humanity. He learned that Judaism was not the end of creation, but a step, a phase, a temporary refuge, a beacon, a pulpit, and that Man, humanity, all life, all the crowding ages that shall ever be,—this was the reason of the Messias, His kingdom, His triumph, and His glory.

In long and tender colloquies with his Divine Master Paul rose above all mankind, and took on something of the personal manner and authority of Christ Himself. In the same breath he is dust and ashes, and then again he thunders and flashes truth after truth, warning after warning, appeal after appeal. His bosom is the channel of divinest thoughts and ardors, and at times he swoons away,—the frail vessel of the flesh is all but consumed by these terrific fires. He stands an intermediary between the soul and God, like the very binding link of religion, and he is filled with the most solemn consciousness that on his vicarious tongue and action depends the fate of a world. He is like one of those narrow estuaries through which the waters of an ocean are driven, whose bed and shores are torn and churned and gashed by the elemental conflict of wind and waves.

Not only is this man a devoted teacher, holding back nothing of himself; he is also a man of single purpose. His own

person sinks away and is lost,—he is voice, hand, channel, only an instrument fitted to the will of Jesus Christ. Faith and love have all but drowned his individual self,—he is willing to be an anathema, a castaway, a thing of scorn and pity for his brethren, because his own love hath so loved them.

He is also a teacher of sublime courage. Men admire to-day whoever stood out in former ages for truths we now perceive in their entirety,—Galileo, Harvey, Jenner, any forerunner of the true, the good, and the beautiful as we taste or know them. But how faint the merit of all such when compared with the courage of a man like Paul! His teaching was unpopular, new, and difficult. It was full of rock-like principles about which the powers of earth must one day rage and the peoples shout vain things. It cut in between man and wife, between father and son, between the spiritual and the temporal, between the soul and the body, between God and Satan, between the City of Sin and the New Jerusalem. Scarcely had it been formulated when men nailed its Founder to a gibbet that He took for a throne. And scarcely had it got across the borders of Palestine when all life and society were filled with uproar, when there was a cry throughout all humanity: "To your tents, O Israel!"—and almost in the twinkling of an eye there stood over against one another the hosts of organized society and the little band of brethren who knew that now the hour had come to go out from kin and home and neighbor, and seek the New Land of Promise.

Could we do it, my brethren? Let us admire, at least, the unparalleled courage of the man who broke down that alliance of earth-powers, and freed the soul of humanity from the vain terrors and superstitions, and still vainer errors and prejudices, that held it like a crust.

He is not a teacher from his cathedra alone, a Plato or a Zeno; he is a man of action. See how he follows up the openings for Christ at Corinth, in Galatia, in Macedonia! See how he forecasts his journeys to Rome, to Spain! See how he bears about in his heart the needs of the poor overtaxed decaying city of Jerusalem, how he is anxious over schisms, elections, friendships, new doctrines! He has caught from the heart of Jesus Christ something of His undying enthusiasm of humanity.

A teacher must be called by higher authority, so great are the responsibilities toward society, so supreme are the demands made upon the office, so far-reaching, for good or evil, the effects of its administration. Almost at death's door, St. Patrick took up the pen in his aged and palsied fingers to prove that he had not entered Ireland without a proper calling. St. Paul himself avers that no one may minister unless called of God, like Aaron. Again and again he recalls his own vocation, though through Christ. His secretary puts down the history of it in the notebook of their travels. It is his pride and support; he will even go up to Jerusalem to the chief of the Church and the principal Apostles, to have their juridical approbation, lest he run in vain, or outside of the new society.

Yet his calling was an extraordinary one. How often since then has it happened in the history of the Church that the greatest things have been done, not by those born in the faith, but by men who have drifted into it by many long and painful wanderings! It is the mystery of the eleventh hour, of the vocation of our ancestors, of the corner-stone that the builders rejected, the mysterious law of the success of failure, of the triumph of minorities. Justin, Athenagoras, Clement, Cyprian, Augustine,—to speak only of very ancient examples,—are not these the later teachers of the Christians, and did they not all go through the preliminary schools of paganism?

For us, members of the School of Theology, St. Paul has a real domestic significance. He is the father of Christian theology. In him are contained *radicitus*, in germ, all the ecclesiastical sciences,—the interpretation of Scripture, the basic theories of Christian doctrine, the principles of morality and the details of conduct, the origins of the public worship or liturgy, the first chapters of Christian history, the spirit and method of apologetics, the primitive institutions of Christian life and practice. What Homer was to the Greek mind, the source of all progress and evolution; what Vergil was to the Roman mind, the mentor of Roman virtue, the index of Roman fortune, that and infinitely more St. Paul was to the Christian mind. In him Jesus Christ raised up and inspired an infalli-

ble lawgiver and teacher, as a sure corner-stone to His little society, about which all the weak, uncertain human elements of the time must coalesce.

St. Paul is, moreover, the parent of all great Christian literature. St. Justin and the Apologists, St. Clement of Rome, St. Irenæus,—all the leading Christian thinkers are dominated by him in the second century. Old Abercius of Hieropolis is right in asserting his leadership, and Renan is wrong in saying that his influence paled in that century. The heresy of Marcion and its vigorous refutation show that during all the sub-apostolic time St. Paul was the focus of Catholic theological life. The story of Paul and Thecla shows how well he was remembered about the middle of the second century, when legend had already begun to spin its web about his life-story. St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, the Cappadocian fathers, St. Patrick, St. Gregory, St. Bernard, are great torches lit along the ages from his flame. Of St. Patrick, Tillemont said that no other saint so recalled the Apostle Paul. The great Christian councils of the first six centuries are dominated by his theology, and it has been well said that in spirit and guidance he is their true president.

In his Pastoral Epistles he has left us, as it were, the first manual of clerical conduct. And all later works, like the Apologia of Gregory Nazianzen, the De Sacerdotio of Chrysostom, the Regula Pastoralis of Gregory the Great, the De Contemptu Mundi of Innocent III. are but echoes, adaptations of these first chapters of formation and guidance.

Finally, he is to us the model of our dealings with the people of God. He has *flammantia verba* and *sæva indignatio* for evil, but only pity for the sinner. He is full of compassion and gentleness for the poor, the humble in society, the outcast. For those who are Christ's his heart overflows with love; for those who are not yet of Christ he is thoughtful, ingenious, laborious,—he must win them or perish in the attempt. For Jew and Gentile he has reason and argument, history and philosophy, when occasion demands it. He takes up the discussion in the Areopagus; perhaps he conversed with Seneca. In his Roman apartment all were free to come and go, and he was no indolent dreamer in those years.

There opens before us a world not unlike that into which Paul went down and came out victorious,—a world to be won again for Jesus Christ by the example of our lives and by the victories of the mind,—a world as proud and self-satisfied as any Rome or Greece, yet gentler, milder, more refined and accessible. On the other hand, it is harder to convert it to the Christian view of things, for it has once fallen away, and the saving dew does not often fall twice on the same pastures. To speak to this world, to be believed by it, we must appropriate something of the spirit and the methods of the Apostle of the Gentiles. It must be convinced of our genuine affection for it. It must see in us the natural virtues it admires and practices. It must find in us elevation of view, breadth and abundance of human sympathies, gentlemanliness, genuine tolerance, courtesy of mind, heart, and tongue, a large and hopeful patience in God's wise management of His own work. We must, in very fact, according to our talent and our circumstances, become all things to all the men of our age, if we would truly take up the mission and the teaching of the Apostle of the Nations.

God grant that the number of such disciples of St. Paul increase, and that under the ægis of his spirit and his faith there may be again an united Christendom, the only worthy outcome of the labors of so sublime a guide and teacher! God grant us, as time goes on, an ever larger number of men devoted to the work of the ministry, possessed with one purpose, filled with the old and the new learning, passionately fond of their own age and their own country, with great hearts to feel for their needs, sure and clever instincts to adopt what is needful, enlightened minds to execute the same, and transcendent enthusiasm to sustain them in their work and to inflame with the same consuming spirit each his own time and generation!

Impendar et superimpendar! Let this be the cry of every noble soul who would live for others, not for himself! Let it be your answer to every temptation to a life of ease and security when the vast conflict calls for zeal, fiery and mordant, but breathing love and self-sacrifice! Let no cynicism, domestic or foreign, dim the freshness and the impact of your

ardor! Let no tale of worldly-wise rationalizing experience relegate you to the rear as camp followers! Rather be ever well up in the front, along the red ridge of battle, where alone the prizes of success are to be had! *Mors acerba, fama perpetua, stabit vetus memoria facti.*

There are yet mighty deeds to be done for Jesus Christ, even the reconquest of an apostate and disillusioned world; and they can only be done in the uncalculating warrior spirit that sustained St. Paul and enabled him to create anew for his Divine Master a real world, the inner world of the soul, belief, ideals, hopes, that world of which things and sciences are only the beautiful but transitory envelope.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION.[1]

The question whether tribes exist quite devoid of religious sentiment and practice was warmly contested a generation ago, but is now, as a rule, met with a negative answer. Quatrefage's characterization of man as "un être organisé—doué de moralité et de religion,"[2] is one from which few anthropologists of the present day would withhold their assent. Of course, the proposition that man is everywhere religious does not imply that his religion is always of the highest type, just as the statement that man is a moral being does not mean that his moral standard is always complete. In the sense applicable to the present purpose, religion may be defined as the acknowledgment by acts of homage of man's dependence on a supernatural being or beings, conceived as having control, to some extent at least, over man's destiny and over the forces of nature. In this sense religion may be said to be practically coextensive with mankind.

Closely connected with the universality of religion is the question of its origin. This problem does not find a welcome with some Christian scholars, for they think it tends to bring prejudice to the Christian faith. But this, I think, is a mistake. For, leaving aside for the present the question of positive revelation, we may legitimately ask ourselves if there is in man a natural basis for religion. Though the question of the origin of religion creates in some minds the impression that there was a time when man had no religion at all, still it is plain that it need not carry this assumption with it. Religion may prove, like morality, to be a natural and inevitable outcome of the use of reason. Hence it may well have existed from the beginning, and been even prior to a revelation of religion in a higher and purer form. The all-important point is: If religion is the natural outcome of the use of reason, is it the result of a legiti-

[1] A criticism of the theory of Mr. Herbert Spencer, as expounded in his "Principles of Sociology."

[2] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1860, p. 820.

mate mental process, or is it to be relegated to the rubbish heap of erroneous judgments? In a word, has religion, viewed independently of revelation, anything like a solid foundation, or is it built on the shifting sands of superstition?

Various, indeed, are the views that have been called forth by this question. Among the prominent thinkers of to-day who deny to the religious sentiment in man a legitimate foundation and object, is Mr. Herbert Spencer. With his characteristic display of erudition, he has discussed the origin of religion at great length in his Principles of Sociology, an important subdivision of his vast work on Synthetic Philosophy.

Mr. Spencer derives primitive notions of the spiritual world from dreams and visions. Through them man arrived at the conception of the phantom, or soul, living more or less independently of the body and surviving it at death. Hence arose the worship of ancestral spirits, and the appeasing of hostile ghosts, some of which in the course of time became transformed into higher deities and demons, till finally, in a few favorable instances, one deity was fancied to reign supreme, to the gradual extinction of all the rest. Thus, according to Mr. Spencer, with the souls of the dead all deities of a higher order are identical. The gods of nature, aye, the supreme God of the Christians, are but transformations of human phantoms, are but human ghosts in disguise. Thus all higher religion is the mistaken outcome of an extravagant ancestor-worship. The first prayers were appeals made to the dead. The first sacrifices were the offerings of food placed on the grave. The first altar was the mound of earth or heap of stones covering the remains of the dead. The beginnings of the temple betray themselves in the burial cave and in the rude shelter set up above the grave.

Let us examine the process of reasoning by which Mr. Spencer seeks to make good his theory. Of course, in keeping with his philosophic views, he looks upon all religion as upon civilization in general, as the result of a gradual, progressive development from the simple conditions in which man found himself after emerging from the brute. As the beginnings of civilization were coarse and rude, so the beginnings of religion. Both were natural effects of the workings of primitive human

intelligence, and both developed by natural laws of progress, till in some favored instances they reached high levels of excellence. But in less favorable conditions they either maintained a constantly low level or, after a certain grade of progress, degenerated to a state not far removed from the primitive condition. To explain, then, the origin of religious ideas, Mr. Spencer passes over the higher forms of religious philosophy, and turns to the religious notions of rude and savage peoples, for it is there, he claims, that we have the nearest approach to the primitive human mind.

Though exception might be taken to this radical method of procedure, let us allow it to pass, for the sake of argument, and briefly review with him the religious notions of uncultivated peoples.

The first thing that strikes the student of primitive religions is the rude psychology underlying the savage's notion of life and death. To this point Mr. Spencer devotes a careful study, which approves itself, in the main, to the unprejudiced mind.

From the first the mind of man seems to have occupied itself with the explanation of sleep, dreams, visions, trances, sickness and death. In sleep the body lies motionless, and yet the dreaming individual seems to move about from place to place. The familiar forms of deceased relatives and friends appear to him; enemies present themselves and try to slay him. How account for these strange and often vivid experiences? The almost universal explanation of untutored minds is that there is in every man a light, airy, film-like substance, the exact counterpart of the body, giving to the latter its life, but capable of existing apart from it. This phantom-like principle of life and consciousness, variously known as the soul, spirit, ghost, breath, shade, which Mr. Spencer calls the other-self, or double, is thought to be temporarily absent from the body in sleep, swoons, trances, and extreme sickness, returning to the body when consciousness is resumed. At death it leaves the body for good, and leads an independent existence, but appears to friends and relatives in dreams and visions. This curious explanation, so puerile in our eyes, of dreams as something real, of mental phantasms

as objects in actual existence, finds exemplification in the beliefs of peoples in every quarter of the world. Thus the Greenlander will tell you in all seriousness that the soul quits the body during sleep to go visiting, dancing, and hunting. The New Zealanders, in like manner believe that in sleep their souls often travel to the land of the dead to converse with those they knew in life. Fr. Charlevoix, the famous Jesuit missionary of the eighteenth century, testifies to similar beliefs among the Indians of North America. Some people refrain from waking a sleeper suddenly on account of the fancied absence of the soul.

It is in keeping with this primitive psychology that many savages identify their souls with the reflections of their bodies in the smooth water, or even with their shadows. The recognition of the shadow as a manifestation of the soul is common to the Indian tribes of North and South America, to the Tasmanians, the Fijians, and many negro tribes of Africa. The Basutos of South Africa take care not to walk along the river bank when their shadows fall upon the stream, for fear a crocodile might seize the shadow and draw the luckless owner in.

Being the exact counterpart of the body, the soul or phantasm is thought to have the same characteristics, the same defects as the human frame with which it has been united. Thus the Australian will cut off the right thumb of a slain enemy, so that its ghost, likewise hostile, cannot hurl its spear at him. The negro stands in dread of a long sickness, which will send him lean and feeble into the next world. The great horror which the Chinese have of decapitation is chiefly due to the persuasion that their souls would thereby be sent headless into the realm of the dead.

Besides having all the external characteristics of the body, the phantom, when set free at death, is fancied likewise to be animated by the same desires and tastes, to have the same needs and occupations that marked its earthly life. The ghosts of the dead eat, drink, hunt, fight and dance. They have need of wives and attendants. Hence the custom the world over of burying or burning with the corpse the things needed for the next world. The child is buried with its playthings ; the woman with her carrying strap, cooking utensils, blankets,

bead ornaments and cosmetics; the warrior with his weapons and his favorite horse or dog. Hence, too, the cruel custom so world-wide of killing a number of the warrior's wives and attendants to keep him company and minister to his wants in the next world.

It is easy to see how, in consequence of such primitive philosophy, the souls of the dead could become the object of a religious cult. Partly out of affection, partly from a sense of duty, offerings of food are made at the graves of the dead or before their bones or mummified forms. The spirits of the dead are thought to be refreshed by these tokens of piety and to show their good will and appreciation by acts of kindness in return. On the other hand, sickness and ill-luck come to be ascribed to the anger felt by the dead by reason of some neglect on the part of the living. Thus, if an Algonquin Indian happened to fall into the fire, he was persuaded that the spirits of his dead relatives had pushed him in for neglecting to make them the proper offerings.

The Zulus hold that the spirits of their dead, if provoked by lack of offerings, inflict disease, but if rightly treated, give health, abundance of corn and cattle, and help them to strike down their enemies. When the Kafir doctor is called to the sick he declares the dead relatives of the patient are the cause of his affliction, and need to be appeased by the sacrifice of a cow or by some other offering. In Tanna, one of the New Hebrides Islands, the ancestral spirits are supposed to watch over the growth of yams and fruit trees. The natives pray to them and make them offerings of fruits.

Examples like these of religious worship of the dead are most abundant, nor are they confined to the lowest grades of civilization. They have a place as well in the religious systems of China, of ancient India, Persia, Greece and Rome.

The prevailing sentiments towards the dead are those of affection and reverence, rather than of fear. But apart from the great mass of the dead stand certain ghosts that assume the rôle of destroyers, and are consequently held in dread. Such are the souls of enemies slain in battle, of persons deprived of proper burial, of sorcerers and others of evil repute. If they show themselves unusually hostile and threatening,

offerings are made to allay their wrath. A case is on record of a British officer in India who, after a life of cruelty and wickedness, was elevated by the superstitious natives to the unenviable rank of a demon, and was duly appeased at times by offerings of brandy and soda, which it seems was his favorite beverage in life.

Enough has been said to show how deeply rooted and how widespread is the worship of the dead among people of low culture. On this feature of their religious life Mr. Spencer enlarges at considerable length. But there is another feature of at least equal importance, on which he fails to lay sufficient stress, and that is the belief in higher spirits and deities identified with the great forces of nature and manifesting their presence in striking phenomena like the sky, earth, sun, moon, thunder and tempest. This belief in nature-deities is as widespread as the belief in friendly and hostile ghosts. It finds expression among tribes that stand lowest in the scale of culture, tribes that, until recently, were declared to be destitute of religious ideas. Notun frequently one of these nature-deities, generally the heaven, sun, or thunder-god, is recognized as supreme, and is honored with the title of maker of all things. We have not the time to enter fully into this subject, and so we shall content ourselves with a few striking examples.

The rude Khonds of India distinguish clearly the revered souls of the dead from the higher nature-deities, among whom the sun-god and creator, Bura Pennu, and the earth-goddess, Tari Pennu, hold the highest rank. The worship of the sun, generally as the first among a number of nature-deities, is common to many savage peoples, as the Kol tribes of Bengal, the Ainos of Yesso, the Muyscas, Botocudos, Tobas, and Puelches of South America, not to speak of other peoples like the ancient Peruvians, Natchez, and Apalaches, who stood on a higher plane of culture.

The Australians, classed among the most degraded of peoples, and long thought to be without religious sentiment, recognize high above the ghosts and spirits swarming in the jungles, a few nature-gods. They give the place of supremacy to Baiame, the Thunder-god and maker of all things. In like manner, the fierce Araucanians of Chili brought offerings to

the sun, but worshipped as the highest deity, Pillan, the Thunder-god. Tupan, the god of thunder, worshipped by the rude Tupi tribes of Brazil, furnished the early Catholic missionaries with the name by which they made known to these unenlightened peoples the nature and attributes of the true God.

The natives of the Andaman Islands, a pigmy and feeble-minded remnant of the black Dravidian race of South Asia, credited till lately with utter ignorance of religious ideas, believe in a supreme being whose name is Puluga He was never born and will never die. He made all things. Invisible, he dwells in the sky. He knows all things, but can see only while it is day So too the negroes of Africa, with but few exceptions, recognize among other higher deities the heaven-god, who sends the rain and the lightning, who is generally honored with the title of creator. We all know how familiar to the North American Indian was the Great Manitoo or Spirit who dwelt in the sky, and who was above comparison with the wind, water, thunder, and fire-gods, much more with the souls of the dead.

The religious energy of primitive peoples is, therefore, divided between ancestor-worship on the one hand, and the worship of nature-deities on the other. These two classes of spirits are scarcely ever confounded. It sometimes happens, indeed, that the higher nature-gods, especially the heaven and sun-god, are less frequently honored, being conceived as too remote from men to care much for their gifts and too good-natured to take offense at their neglect. And so it comes to pass that their rights to submissive worship are often set aside in favor of the claims of lesser gods and spirits, and of the souls of the dead as well, who are felt to have a more direct influence over the destinies of man, and whose powers of doing evil are especially dreaded. But the nature-deities are, perhaps without exception, recognized to be superior to ghosts in rank and kind.

But this conception of superior nature-deities, Mr. Spencer contends, is not primary in the human mind, but rather of secondary, indirect origin. It could not have come to the mind by way of inference from the contemplation of nature.

It implies the mistaken notion of primitive man that the sky, earth, sun, moon, and sea are living things. But the mind of man in its lowest state of enlightenment could not make so egregious a blunder, unless led astray by some erroneous prepossession, for even the higher brutes are able to distinguish between things living and things without life. "Shall we say," he writes, "that the primitive man is less intelligent than the lower mammals, less intelligent even than insects? Unless we say this, we must say that the primitive man distinguishes the living from the not-living; and if we credit him with intelligence higher than that of the brutes, we must infer that he distinguishes the living from the not-living better than brutes do" (ch. ix. § 65).

For this reason Mr. Spencer declares himself against the view so widely accepted that the conception of nature-deities arises directly in the mind of primitive man from the observation of the striking phenomena of nature.

But it is just here that the first serious flaw in Mr. Spencer's argument betrays itself.

For, in the first place, the recognition of nature-gods does not in every instance imply the notion that the phenomena with which they are associated are living things. In many cases it implies no more than that the phenomena are the *embodiments* of superior beings, or the *manifestations* of their power. This is certainly true of the thunder-god so familiar to rude peoples in every part of the earth. There is no visible object with which he is identified, the lightning and thunder being simply the evidence of his existence, the manifestation of his power. The wind and tempest-gods are likewise instances in point.

Again, when the North American Indian sent his puff of smoke in reverent worship to the Great Spirit in the sky, or threw a handful of tobacco to the spirit in the river or the lake, he did not confound the sky, or river, or lake, with the spirit who dwelt therein. So, too, the heaven-god of the Guinea negroes, of the Andaman Islanders, of the Australians, is conceived as abiding in the sky, not as being the living sky itself.

It is only, then, to *some* deified phenomena as the sun, moon, planets, stars, possibly the sea, that Mr. Spencer's objection, even if valid, could be made to apply. But even here, its val-

idity can not stand the test of careful scrutiny. For what he says of the comparative ability of men and of brutes to discern the presence or absence of life, applies only to objects of familiar experience. It can not legitimately be extended to objects that, like the sun and moon, exhibit motion but do not admit of familiar inspection. What certainty have we that brutes are able to discern the lifeless character of such objects as these? It is plain that we have none at all. And yet Mr. Spencer argues as if he knew all about it, for only on that condition is his argument of any worth.

He says, indeed, that brutes distinguish motion implying life from mere lifeless motion by the spontaneity of the former. This he thinks, "is clearly shown by the behavior of animals in presence of a railway train, which shows no spontaneity. In the early days of railroads, they displayed great alarm; but after a time, familiarized with the roar and swift motion of this something which appearing in the distance, rushed by and disappeared in the distance, they became regardless of it. The cattle now continue to graze; and even the partridges on the embankment slopes scarcely raise their heads" (ch. ix. § 62).

But is this a sound inference? Is it because the cattle and birds have discovered the rushing train to be *lifeless* that they now regard it without alarm? Or is not their absence of fear due rather to the fact that they have found it to be *harmless*? This, it seems to me, is the more sensible explanation. It is not because the train appeared a *living* thing that the animals were at first afraid, but because it appeared a *dangerous* thing. Familiarity with its movements restored confidence, just as familiarity with the movements of harnessed horses on our roads has taught the birds and beasts to take no fright from their swift running. Such animals doubtless recognize a horse dashing by with a carriage as a living thing; but whether they fancy the moving train to be inanimate or living, we have no certain means of judging. Surely their conduct, which is the same in the presence of a train as in the presence of a horse, gives no safe ground of inference. And though Mr. Spencer assures us that the absence of spontaneity in the train enables brutes to discern its lifeless character, we may ask what about those brutes in the neighborhood of a station, that see the train

come to a stop as if of its own accord, and soon move on again? Here is spontaneity of motion as far as brutes can judge, and yet we find them looking on with the same stolid indifference as their less favored congeners. In like manner, whether brutes see in the sun or moon merely lifeless things is a problem we have no certain means of solving, though some think the baying of dogs at the rising moon implies that they take the moon to be a living thing.

But there is a reason why man should take the movements of the sun and moon, the violent blasts of winds, the crashing and destroying force of the lightning to be manifestations of personality. Primitive man is ignorant of the physical laws by which these phenomena are governed. By the natural impulse of his rational nature he is led to ascribe these various movements to causes, and in his ignorance of mechanical causes, he attributes them to personal, living causes. When he hears the thunder he naturally thinks of the thunderer; as he views the sun and moon he is apt to take them for living beings.

How natural this is to primitive minds is shown by instances mentioned by Mr. Spencer himself. "By the Esquimaux, Ross' vessels were thought alive,—moving as they did without oars; and Thompson says of the New Zealanders, that when Cook's ship hove in sight, the people took her for a whale with wings." Andersson tells us that by the Bushmen a wagon was supposed to be animated and to want grass; its complexity, its symmetry, and its moving wheels, being irreconcilable with their experiences of inanimate things" (ch. ix § 65).

Enough has been said, I think, to bring out the weakness of Mr. Spencer's reasoning that the recognition of nature-deities cannot be a primary process in the mind of primitive man.

Let us now go with him a step further and see how he tries to bridge over the immense gulf that separates nature-worship from ancestor-worship, for it is from the belief in ancestral ghosts that he derives the world-wide notion of nature-deities.

To make the transition from the worship of the comparatively feeble ghost of man to that of the mighty spirit inhabiting

the heaven, or sun, or revealing its presence and power in the raging tempest or the lightning-crash, Mr. Spencer has recourse to a supposed misinterpretation of language and traditions on the part of primitive man. After laying stress on the rudimentary state of language of unenlightened tribes, its poverty of diction, its superabundance of metaphors,—all tending to render the expression of thought difficult and liable to frequent misunderstanding, he attempts to show how the deification of certain features of nature, as, for example, the mountain or the sea, might have been brought about by mistaking the traditional place of origin for the ancestor of the tribe. Thus, after giving instances of a mountain being deified and honored with the title of ancestor, he lays down the following explanation. The mountain was first accepted as the place whence the tribe came, either because their ancestors had dwelt on its sides in caves, or because they had come by way of the mountain from some distant place beyond. The story of *coming from the mountain* came in time to be misunderstood as *being produced by the mountain as ancestor*. Forthwith the people took the mountain for their remote ancestor and gave it worship (ch. xxiv § 186).

In like manner men coming from over the sea would be spoken of by primitive people as "men of the sea." The change from "men of the sea" to "children of the sea" is an easy one,—paralleled by like figures of speech among ourselves,—and from the name "children of the sea" the mistaken notion would soon prevail that the sea was the ancient parent of their race, an ancestor worthy of worship (Ibid. § 187).

In declaring this explanation to be puerile in the extreme, I do not think I am laying myself open to the charge of unfairness. For observe, first, metaphorical language would be less likely to deceive the savage than us, for the reason that the savage uses figurative language on nearly all occasions. He needs but an ounce of common sense to discriminate between ideas so vastly remote as coming from a lifeless mountain or sea, and being born of a living mountain or sea. The latter notion would be rejected unhesitatingly by the savage who hitherto had had no conception of nature-gods; nay, who had, according to Mr. Spencer, the firm conviction that mountain and sea, sun and moon were lifeless.

But, even supposing that, now and then, a savage might be so witless as to make a mistake of this magnitude, are we to believe that all the members of the tribe could be equally stupid? Would they all be apt to make the same blunder, and, waking up, as it were, out of a long sleep, discover in the lifeless hill or sea the ghost of an ancestor whom they had thus far neglected, and whom forthwith they began to worship? And lastly, if one tribe could have made so gross a mistake, would it be likely that hundreds of other tribes all over the world would fall into the same error? A form of worship so universal cannot be rightly ascribed to a cause so fortuitous and unlikely. Mr. Spencer seems to feel the weakness of this support to his theory, for he proceeds at once to supplement it by another kind of misinterpretation, namely, that by which renowned ancestors named after the sun, moon, and other objects of nature became identified with these objects, thus giving rise to nature-worship.

The custom prevails widely among the lower races of naming children after incidents connected with their birth, as "Falling-rain," "Sighing-wind," "Rising-sun," or after familiar objects of nature, as Thunder, Big-hill, Sun, Moon. Now, Mr. Spencer thinks that the worship of renowned ancestors called Thunder, Big-Hill, Sun and Moon led to a mistaken identification of these heroes with the objects of nature whose names they bore, and in consequence the Thunder, Mountain, Sun and Moon came to be worshipped as deities (Ibid. §188-193).

This explanation is a little more plausible than the preceding, but is open to fatal objections. First of all, the custom of calling the living after objects of nature would save them from the error of confounding an ancestor with the object whose name he bore. That savage would be of amazing simplicity who would be led to discover in the majestic orb of heaven the living form of an ancestor called Sun, when, perhaps, his own chief was known by the name of Sun as well, when he himself was called Moon, and his relatives went by the names of Cloud, Rain, Thunder, and Sunshine.

The weakness of this explanation reveals itself more clearly still when we bear in mind that among primitive people the worship of ancestors as distinct individuals scarcely ever goes

back beyond the grandfather. The remote ancestors are soon forgotten, the foreground being occupied by those who have passed away within the lifetime of the worshippers. Thus the individuals who stand forth prominently in ancestral worship are those of recent memory, the very ones who would least likely be mistaken for some object of nature whose name they bore.[1]

There is another consideration that adds to the improbability of mistakes like these, and that is the widespread dislike of savage peoples to mention the dead by name. Thus the Tasmanians would not pronounce the names of their dead relatives and friends for fear of offending their spirits. Similar customs, though not all based on the same motive, prevail among the Ainos, the Australians, the Ostiaks, the Indians of North America, the Fuegians, the Caribs. The Guaycurus of South America take care not to pronounce the name of a deceased chief, and the Abipones of Paraguay were formerly so scrupulous in this respect as to drop from their vocabulary all words of which the name of the deceased formed a part. Among such peoples the possibility of confounding objects of nature with the deceased ancestors bearing their names is too slight to merit consideration.[2]

Note, besides, that the worship of ancestors among savages is almost exclusively confined to the ghosts of men. Female ancestors scarcely ever receive religious honors. But it is always as a goddess that the earth is worshipped. She is the mother of all things. The moon has likewise received worship as a female deity from many tribes of North and South America, as for example, the Hurons, Algonquins, Ottawas, Incas, Muyscas, Chiquitos; also from the natives of the Malay Peninsula. To account for these and other female deities of nature, we need a different explanation from that given by Mr. Spencer.[3]

In fine, we may say of this, as of the preceding explanation, that the mistaking of the great features of nature for human

[1] Principles of Sociology, I., § 100; Tylor, Primitive Culture, II., p. 116; Ellis, Ewe-Speaking Peoples, p. 25.

[2] Principles of Sociology, I., § 133; Jevons, Introduction to the History of Religion, p. 61; Brinton, Religions of Primitive Peoples, p. 95.

[3] Spencer, Ecclesiastical Institutions, ch. IV., § 597; Lang, Article on Mythology in Encyclopedia Britannica.

ancestors would be too fortuitous to account for a thing so general as nature-worship. The coincidences in nature-myths and nature-worship are too many and too minute. That even an individual here and there might commit so egregious a blunder is unlikely enough. But that all the members of the tribe should make the same mistake, still more, that hundreds of tribes in every part of the earth should be likewise deceived, is beyond the limits of credibility.

Mr. Spencer thinks he finds confirmation of this part of his theory in the anthropomorphic descriptions and myths of the gods, and in the traditions current among some peoples of descent from nature-deities. But anthropomorphism is too deeply rooted in the mind of man to be explained as the outcome simply of belief in ghosts and of ancestral worship. Anthropomorphic descriptions of the gods are thus no proof of their ghostly origin. In like manner the titles of father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, given sometimes to certain deities, as well as the traditions of tribal descent from nature-gods, need not imply that these gods are nothing more than deified ancestors. They are rather the expression partly of man's vanity, and partly of a deep persuasion that there is something akin between the human and the divine. Prof. Jevons has brought out this point very clearly in his recent work, the "Introduction to the History of Religion," p. 197. Of a like view is Prof. Brinton, who says in his "Religions of Primitive Peoples": "In all of them (i. e. primitive faiths) you will find the deity appealed to as great, mighty, a lord, a king, terror-inspiring, loving his followers, and by hundreds of such epithets of amplification and flattery. He is addressed as father, grandfather, not at all implying a physical relationship, as some modern writers have erroneously stated; but with reference to the loving care he is supposed to extend to his worshippers" (p. 105)

With these words we take our leave of Mr. Spencer. We have followed him carefully in his attempt to demonstrate the ghostly origin of the higher deities of nature. We have seen how signally he has failed. His capital error is his denial to man of the almost instinctive tendency to rise from the observation of the forces of nature to the conception of personality

working in and through nature. This tendency is characteristic of the human reason. There are certain axioms that are common to us and to primitive man, that commend themselves everywhere to the reasonable mind unprejudiced by the peculiar tenets of certain schools of thought. One of these is the objective existence of the world without us. Another is the principle of causality. A third, of great importance, though liable, it is true, to misapplication, is the principle that force is the outcome of intelligent volition, and hence a manifestation, mediate or immediate, of personality.[1] By the untutored mind this axiom is firmly grasped but not in its completeness. Acquainted only with personal causes, ignorant of the existence and of the unity of the physical, secondary causes by which the phenomena of nature are produced, primitive man fails to discern in the intricate and shifting scenes of nature the workings of one, supreme Will. He mistakes the various phenomena for the immediate manifestations of as many independent personalities. And so, by an almost spontaneous act of mind, he thinks he sees in sun and moon, tempest and lightning, sky, earth, and sea, the evidence of mighty personal causes, nature-gods, filling him with the sense of mystery, exciting his admiration or his fear, inviting or repelling his confidence and affection according as they promote his welfare or bring ruin in their train. And note, too, how inevitably springs up man's sense of dependence on these deities of nature. From the very first, he finds himself completely at their mercy. He cannot stay the sun and moon in their majestic course, nor ward off the destructive storm or lightning stroke. The seas, now calm, now lashed to fury, the rivers swollen at times with heavy freshets and laying waste the neighboring lands with wild impetuous flood, the earth now barren, now producing precious herbs and fruits, all these are hopelessly beyond his power to control. Feeling himself thus at the mercy of these mighty beings, he does but follow the promptings of his heart when he turns to them in self-abasement, and seeks, through prayer and offerings, to win their good will and friendship.

[1] Cf. Brinton, op. cit. p. 47.

In this way the forces of nature become divided up among a number of powerful deities, each one of which acts more or less on his own responsibility. But the mind of man, in obedience to its craving for unity, assigns to one of these deities, the supremacy over the rest, and in some cases pushing the principle of causality further still, sees in this supreme deity the maker of all things.

Such is the origin of religion in primitive man. It is independent of, and doubtless prior to, the conception of ghosts. While not without an admixture of error, it is based on a sound principle, the same by which behind the changes of seasons, the orderly movements of the earth and planets, the forces of gravitation and chemical affinity, growth and decay, the Christian philosopher discerns the great original Will, the all-knowing Designer, the all-powerful Ruler and Lord of creation, in whom we live and move and have our being.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

THE OLD TESTAMENT "SONG OF HANNAH."

(I Sam. 2, 1–10).

While possessing the finished, beautiful and intensely religious characteristics to be found in the many other songs of praise, thanksgiving, and of triumph in the sacred literature of the Hebrews, there are in the song in the second chapter of the First Book of Samuel a suggestiveness and picturesque beauty, a complete trustfulness in the guiding and assisting powers of Yahweh that are peculiarly its own. For Christians also, aside from the value it has of itself, it is of interest as having suggested some of the ideas and turns of phrase in the Magnificat of Mary.[1] It is true that these songs differ very much in purpose. One is a song of thanksgiving because Yahweh has cast down the mighty; the other is a song of joy because God has raised the lowly.[2] However, both are psalms of thanksgiving, the one of a strong national character, the other a reminiscence more beautiful than its older type, of a softer and more gentle tone,—the joyous, yet subdued cry of gladness from an humble woman's heart. The song of Mary is marked throughout by its personal qualities; everything is subordinated to the one idea of the marvelous gift that God has conferred on an individual. But the Hebrew song is different. The poet seems to represent the people. The heart of the writer is exalted, and his head raised high by Yahweh[3]; for, with the help of the Lord, he, standing for the people, has conquered the enemy,[4] and therefore shouts joyously over the defeat of the national foe. In the excess of this joy the people say: Surely, there is none like Yahweh; no other God but he; no rock to which they can safely cling like their Elohim.[5] The victory belongs, therefore, to the Yahweh of battle. Men should not be too confident in numbers and warlike powers.[6] The foe was indeed mighty, but

[1] Luke 1, 46; 49b; 52; 53; and compare I. Sam. II, 1; 2a; 8; 5a. cf. also the canticle of Zacharia, Luke I, 68 ff.
[2] Luke I, 48. [3] I S. II., 1a. [4] Ib. [5] 2. [6] 3a.

Yahweh is a God of knowledge; the deeds of the bow[1] are not weighed by him. He, of Himself, is all-powerful. The strong men are broken by Him,[2] and the weak made strong; those possessed of everything are made poor, and the famished receive plenty; the barren becomes fruitful, and she who bore many becomes as a widow.[3] Still greater things can He do. He kills and makes alive, sends down into Sheol and raises thence; makes poor and makes rich; even places the paupers upon the throne of princes, for He possesses the whole world.[4] Surely, then, this mighty God will watch the feet of those who[5] reverence Him, and hurl into darkness the irreligious. Strength does not make the strong man. Yahweh hurls down the mightiest who oppose Him. May He continue, then, to make our king triumphant, and raise high the head of His anointed.[6] The position which this song occupies in the Massoretic text is not the same as that which it occupied originally, or at least at the time when the Septuagint Version was made. For it has a different place in the Massoretic text from that in which it is found in the Septuagint. In very many passages in the books of Samuel the Massoretic text is apparently unintelligible, while the Septuagint has preserved what seems to be the original text; so, in this particular instance, the half verse that precedes the introduction to the song is difficult of explanation, while the Septuagint omits it and puts what evidently is its real meaning at the end of the song. This seems to be the true position both of the song and of the half verse. It has accordingly been adopted by Semitic scholars.[7]

In accordance with the Hebrew custom, as seen in the Psalter, the song is not set down in an abrupt manner. But instead of the more usual phrase, "the song of Hannah," there is found the title, "Hannah prayed and said." An examination of the Psalter makes it evident that the title very often has no connection whatever with the contents of the song. Frequently the contents demonstrate the fact that the title set

[1] This interpretation will be explained later on.
[2] 3b. [3] 4, 5. [4] 6, 7, 8. [5] Hasidim.
[6] The interpretations of Keil: Comment. on the Book of Samuel; of Clair: La Sainte Bible; and Hummelauer: Comment. in Lib., Sam., must be rejected. Volney and Cohen (Migne, Scrip. S. Cursus, IX.) tended toward the truer interpretation.
[7] Wellhausen: Der. Text des Buches Samuel, et alii.

down is impossible.[1] Then, again, the titles in some Massoretic psalms do not agree with those of the Septuagint, or a title has been given to a psalm in the Septuagint where none has been assigned to the corresponding one of the Massoretic.[2] From these facts it has been inferred, and the inference is now admitted by all, that the titles are later additions. At times there is no evident reason now for some of the titles, but in most instances they have been prefixed on account of some allusion or word in the song being interpreted as referring to David or to the sons of Korah, or even Adam and Moses. It is probably "word allusions" of this latter character that induced the final Redactor of the Massoretic text of Samuel to prefix the title found at the beginning of the song in the second chapter. Dr. Hyvernat has noted three, and possibly four, such "word allusions."[3] They are of such a character as to justify in the mind of the Redactor the insertion of the song after Hannah, by means of Yahweh, had obtained an answer to her prayer, and thus had been freed from the blight that hung over every childless Hebrew woman.

The song may be divided into four equal strophes of eight lines each. The first and second strophes are made up of verses of seven syllables. The third strophe begins with a verse of seven syllables, but is followed by two verses of six syllables; the remaining verses have the regular seven syllable formation. The fourth strophe departs somewhat from the arrangement of the preceding ones. It begins with a verse of seven syllables, and so it alternates down to the last two verses, which are made up of five syllables each. It is plain that this syllabic formation gives to the poem a regularity and literary finish not found frequently in Hebrew poetic compositions. It indicates that we have here a carefully studied work, well balanced, and

[1] To take one instance: Ps. 138 according to the title is by David, or of David, i.e. David's song; but all through it the fact that the Temple is built is implied; and moreover, it is implied that the Temple had been built for some time.

[2] Lxx. ps. 42; M. ps. 43.

[3] Verse 5a may have been considered as an allusion to the eating and drinking mentioned in Chapter I., 7, 8; verse 5ba. c. to I., 2b; verse 10, *meribau* to I., 6, *sarathah*; and yarem, verse 10, may be a sound allusion to *har'imah* in I., 6a. Dr. Hyvernat is of the opinion that in Chap. I., 6, there is an example of paranomasia, the play upon the sound of har'imah and rahmah. For the subject of paranomasia, cf. Paranomasia in the O. T. by Dr. I. Casanowicz, Boston, 1894. In transliterating Hebrew words I have adopted the system of Zimmern, Vergl. Grammatik d. Semit. Sprachen, Berlin, 1898.

gradually rising until in the first half of the tenth verse a climax is reached. The alternating verses of the fourth strophe are in accordance with the more intense thought presented; the eight syllable verses seem to draw attention to the punishment that will overtake the irreligious, and the fact that the punishment will be meted out by the One who judges even the farthest parts of the earth.[1] In my translation of the song I have, of course, made no attempt to bring out the syllabic formation of the Hebrew verses. In the arrangement of the poem, however, I have endeavored to present it so that some idea may be acquired of what I believe may have been its original meaning. For that purpose I have separated the last two lines of the second strophe and the last two of the fourth strophe from the body of the song. The reasons for this latter arrangement, as well as for the omission of verse two, and of a word in verse three, will be given in the notes.

STROPHE I.

1. My heart has rejoiced in Yahweh,
2. Raised high was my horn by Yahweh;

1. "'Alas" construed with b, ps. xv, 12b; ps. ix., 3a. Lxx. Ἐστερεώθη. . . . ἐν κυρίῳ. Vulg. Exultavit. . . . in Domino; cf. Syr. Prov. xi, 16. "libbi" i. e. in Hebr. that which makes the conscious individual, as Eccles. II. 1a: "I said in my heart," i. e. "I said to myself," cf. ps. iv., 5b. Similar to the use of nafshun in Arabic. The syllabic formation of the verse requires the Rabbinical reading of the tetragrammaton. A note on the pronunciation of the original word may be seen in Hebraica, vol. viii., nos. 1, 2. p. 103. Also cf. Studia Biblica I, pp. 1, f.

2. "Karni," keren, horn: figure taken from an animal carrying its head high and proudly conscious of its strength, Thenius: Die Bücher Samuelis; Driver: N. H. T. S. The use of this word is very frequent in Hebr. Probably it is a reminiscence of the time when the Hebrews were nomads wandering about with their flocks. It typified strength and power: Jer. 48, 25; Ps. 75, 11; 89, 18; etc. Yahweh in this verse is ren-

[1] For one theory, among many, of Hebr. metre cf. Bickell: Carmina Veteris Testamenti metrice.

3. My mouth was opened wide over my enemies.
4. For with Thy help I have pleasure.

dered by Lxx: *θεος*; *ἐν θεῷ μου*. Vulg. Deo. meo. Some Hebr. texts read Elohai; cf. Ginsburg's Massoretic Text. Also Ps. III., 8a.

3. Lxx: *ἐπλατύνθη ἐπ' ἐχθρούς μου τό στόμα μου*; hence Wellhausen would omit pi after rahab^h, and instead of ki read pi; also Klostermann and Driver. The triumph of the Israelites was so great that they could not restrain their enthusiastic joy. This joy was all the greater because it was unexpected. The modern Arabs when advancing toward an enemy shout and sing, and after having gained a victory, songs of triumph, mixed with cries of derision are given forth; cf. Loftus: Travels in Chaldea and Susiana. Malvenda says: dilatare os super aliquem Hebraeis est *irridere, illudere, conviciis, probris sannis incessere:* cf. Ps. xxxv., 21. Is. lvii, 4a.; cf. also Aulus Gellius, lib. ix., c. xiii.

4. "With Thy help": bishu'ateka; prep. b denoting means. Lxx. *σωτηρίᾳ σου*. Vulg. in salutari tuo. Yeshua from the root yasha seems to imply the idea of some great advantage being gained with the help of some one and the consequent result of freedom from some form or other of oppression. Is. lvi., 1; lix., 11b. Especially, however, does it denote Divine help. Ps. xiii., 6a., and elsewhere. "Have pleasure": samah, this word means to enjoy one self, to have gratification and pleasure from material things in a material way, cf. Eccles. II., 1a. Following this verse in the Massoretic text are the appended verses:

> There is none holy like Yahweh,
> For there is none beside Thee,
> And there is no rock like our Elohim.

These verses do not seem to have formed part of the original song. The first two verses are made up of lines of five syllables each, and the third verse has six syllables. Lxx has the first and third verses and paraphrased slightly the second, or a predicate was added (Rom. ed.), from which fact and its position also, it might be inferred that the latter was added

5. Do not talk so exceeding proudly,
6. Let not arrogant words go forth from thy mouth
7. For Elohim is the Lord of knowledge.

later. The three verses may have been inserted later as the Hebr. "rock" has been changed into the less material "δίκαιος"; although Lxx might have read sad^{h}iq. Kl. considers the second Massoretic verse a gloss. Wellhausen questions the position of the Lxx verse. The style and general mode of expression of the three verses are apparently not in accord with the rest of the poem. Driver is of the opinion, moreover, that they interrupt the connection and break the unity of the song.

5. It is difficult to render this verse exactly in English. I have retained, with a slight verbal modification, the translation of the R. V. The idiom is more common in Syriac than in Hebrew. An infinitive absolute with a finite verb is usual; or the construction of I., 12; Is. lv., 7. In the Hebrew the force of the negative extends over the following verse: Ps. xxxv., 19; xxxviii., 2. The word geb^{h}oah, R. V. "proudly," occurs twice in the verse. Similar repetitions of an emphatic word may be seen in Deut. II., 27; xvi., 20a; the second geb^{h}oah, however, breaks the regularity of the verse; it may have been added later to give more emphasis. The word occurs but once in the Lxx and Syr. and Bohairic Versions of the text; Vulg. renders it: gloriantes. Klostermann reads: geb^{h}urah, geb^{h}urah, cf. 4a.

6. Verses 5 and 6 are intended to convey an idea of the manner in which the enemy acted. They shouted with joy at the small number opposed to them, and victory seemed already theirs. "Arrogant words," 'ataq, bold, then spoken by the wicked against the religious; ps. xxxi., 19.

7. "Elohim," el, usually followed by some attribute, Gen. xiv., 20a; xvii., 1b., and elsewhere. For a discussion of the name Elohim, cf. Commentaries on Genesis by Delitzsch, Dillmann, etc. "Knowledge," deoth, poetic amplificative pl. (Driver). The word means knowledge innately acquired, as distinct from hakam, knowledge obtained from experience, cf. Eccles II., 19b.

8. And the deeds of the bow are not weighed by Him.

STROPHE II.

9. The mighty men of the bow are broken;
10. But the weak have been girded with strength.
11. The surfeited have become hirelings for bread;
12. But the hungry have ceased to labor.

8. I have adopted the reading of Klostermann, who retains the textual lo, "not," as against the Massoretic note, and joins the first word of the following Hebrew verse to this one. Driver renders the Hebrew text thus: "And by Him actions are tested." Keil: "To Him deeds are weighed." Lxx.: *καὶ θεὸς ἑτοιμάζων ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ.* Vulg, et ipsi praeparantur cogitationes. Estimator of hearts and of actions is predicated of God in Prov. xxi., 2; xxiv. 12; xvi., 2. "Deeds": 'alilot^h, external actions.

9. It is difficult to explain this verse grammatically; cf. Commentary of Malvenda. Driver makes hattim, broken, a plural by attraction to mighty men, gibborim, Lxx.: *τόξον δυνατῶν ἠσθένησεν.* Vulg. Arcus fortium superatus est. I have therefore adopted an emendation of the text suggested by Dr. Hyvernat. Transliterated the verse would read: Gibbore qeshet^h hattim. Gibbor, a mighty man whether in size, Gen. vi., 4b; in field sports, Gen. x., 9a; in war, as in the text, gibbor hail, I. S., ix., 1b. may mean an agreeable man, sturdy character.

10. Ps. xviii., 33; nikshalim, the weak, Lxx.: *ἀσθενοῦντες*; Vulg.: Infirmi.

11. Luke xv., 15, Lxx.: *ἠλαττώθησαν.* Vulg: Repleti prius pro panibus se locaverunt. Origen: Saturati panibus deducti sunt ad servitutem; cf. Luke I., 53 b.

12. Lxx: *καὶ ἀσθενοῦντες παρῆκαν γῆν.* Vulg.: Et famelici sunt. I have adopted the reading of Klostermann and Budde (Polychrome Hebrew text). The syllabic formation of the M. text is deficient in the requisite numbers of syllables, and the sense is obscure. By connecting the first word of the next verse, which, as it stands, is difficult of explanation, and adding one consonant which may have dropped out, the verse becomes clear and conforms in sense to the Lxx. We read, therefore: hadelu 'abhod^h

13. The barren has borne seven.
14. And she who had many sons has become as a widow.

COMMENT.

15. Yahweh causes to die and makes alive.
16. He sends down to Sheol and raises.

STROPHE III.

17. Yahweh makes poor and makes rich.

13. Verses 13 to 16 inclusive, can hardly have formed part of the original song. By omitting them and reading immediately the third strophe it will be plain that they are not needed for the completion of the main thought, and indeed, seem to interrupt it abruptly. But the data for a definite opinion are yet wanting. "Seven," this number was made use of to indicate any large number. Ruth iv., 15b.

14. This verse may have been suggested by Jer. xv., 9. "Widow;" Lxx. renders the Hebrew word ἠσθένησεν. Vulg. infirmata est. R. V. languisheth. But these interpretations weaken the antithesis. According to Dr. Hyvernat "umlalah" is a loan word. The root is to be found in the Arabic ramala, to be covered with sand, hence barren on account of the sand deposit. Thence is derived the Syriac armal; r and l on account of their essential similarity may be interchanged, and in Hebrew we find the word almanah, widow, in which the r becomes l, and the final l for euphonic reasons becomes n. But another change was possible also, namely, the first l of almal could be attracted toward the last l and a form amlala would result.

15, 16. These verses were probably added by a different hand from that which wrote the two preceding verses. The verses are irregular; 15 has eight syllables, and 16 seven syllables. The two verses seem to be a comment of an exclamatory character. The thought implied in the verses is late.

16. Sheol: the original meaning is clearly shown in Gen. xxxvii., 35a. Later it indicated the common dwelling place of the souls of the dead: ps. xxx., 4a. cf. Cheyne: the Bampton Lectures, 1889. Gesenius: Thesaurus.

17. I have rearranged the first part of the third strophe. This strophe seems to have been written to honor in a special

18. From the dunghill He raises the poor,
19. He brings low and also elevates;
20. Him of humble origin He raises from the dust
21. To seat among princes,
22. And to inherit the throne of glory.

and more personal way the Israelitish hero. So there is in it an order of thought descending from the general to the particular. It is this that I have endeavored to bring out by my arrangement of the verses. The first two verses as I give them (M 7a, 8ab.) are made up of seven syllables, but the next two (M. 7b., 8a.) have only six. The style of the latter verses is rather abrupt and emphatic, but it is in keeping with the general characteristics of the style of the song. The style of the first verses of the first strophe, although the verses are longer, produces the same impression as does the style of these.

18. Ps. cxiii., 7. This beautiful song whose joyous, vigorous style seems to hurry the reader along, and makes him partake somewhat of the happy and free spirit that filled the writer, much resembles the poem I am commenting upon. Both songs possess the same general characteristics; they may have been the production of the same period, perhaps of the same writer. "Poor" Lxx.; πτωχόν; Vulg. pauperem.

19. Luke I., 52.

20. Ps. cxiii., 7a. From the general statement of verse 19, to the particular, "Him of humble origin;" Lxx.; πένητα; Vulg. egenum. Hebrew, dal, from dalal, to be pendant; dal, one who is weak, by nature dependent; hence, from his origin poor and low, cf. Gesenius: Thesaurus. Ex. xxiii., 3, etc.

21. Lxx.: μετὰ δυναστῶν λαῶν, probably suggested by ps. cxiii., 8b.

22. "Inherit;" yanhilem, he will cause *them* to inherit; Lxx.; αὐτοῖς. Vulg. et solium gloriae teneat. He shall possess power and influence, and his posterity shall inherit the throne which he has established, ps. cxxxv., 12. Lxx. omits the following verses (M. 8b.) and instead of M. 9a. reads what is evidently an attempt to accommodate the song to Hannah's condition (Driver); but it is not in harmony with the tenor of the song (Wellhausen).

23. For to Yahweh belong the pillars of the earth,
24. And upon them has He placed the world.

STROPHE IV.

25. The feet of His Hasidim He has guarded;
26. But the wicked have perished in darkness.

23-24. These verses contain the reason of what was said before. They also, perhaps, contain a reminder to him who has acquired the position of eminence, that his successes have not been due to any great skill on his part, but are to be considered as favors bestowed on bim by an all-powerful Lord. He is merely an instrument in the hands of God. Jer. ix., 23.

24. There is indicated here the opinion universally held in ancient times, that the earth was a great, flat mass, resting on something or other, as here on pillars, cf. Niebuhr: The Geography of Herodotus. "World," tebel, the fertile and inhabited world, as distinct from "earth," the more general term. Gen. I., 1.

25. Properly speaking, this strophe is made up of only six verses. The syllabic formation of the verses adhered to generally in the preceding verses is modified. Alternately, the verses have seven and eight syllables. The style is less rapid; it is more dignified and solemn, and approaches almost to that of a prayer. "Hasidim": I have retained the word in the Hebrew text. It occurs in many of the later psalms. The Hasidim (I. Mac. II., 42; vii., 13), were a religious, and afterwards a political party that arose within the Jewish nation just previous to the Asmonean revolt. This party was composed of those who adhered strictly to the ideal set up by the scribes. They were the "pious," as distinct from the "irreligious"—those who wished to introduce Hellenic customs and beliefs among the Jews; cf. Schürer: Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ; I., I. p. 198, etc. Verses 25 and 26 are omitted by Lxx.

26. "Wicked," resʰa'im, irreligious, ps. III., 8b. The word properly means those who have not the same religious beliefs as the Jews. Its use was somewhat similar to "barbarian," of the Greeks, although it might also be applied to

27. For it is not by strength that a man becomes mighty;
28. Yahweh has confounded His adversaries.
29. El in heaven has thundered;
30. Yahweh has judged the ends of the earth.

LITURGICAL.

31. May He give power to His king,

the Jews who did not observe the law. Here it is probably taken in the sense in which it is used in ps. III., 8b., heathen army. "Darkness," i. e., they have ceased their premature rejoicings, and have become silent in defeat and death.

27. This, as in verse 23, gives the reason, in an implied manner, of the triumph of a small number over many. "Strength," either physical or military, as here.

28. The text of this verse and the following is difficult. Lxx. reads: Κύριος ἀσθενή ποιήσει ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ; cf. Thenius, Wellhausen, Klostermann, Driver. Lxx has after this verse Κύριος ἅγιος, which might justify Keil's interpretation.

29. Lxx. has here a long insertion from Jer. ix., 23f., evidently a marginal gloss that found its way into the text. Lxx.: Κύριος ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν. The Massoretic text is obscure; Budde reads 'alyon and yeroem. But 'ain and aleph frequently interchange in the Books of Samuel, (1 S. 1, 13a, etc.). I have therefore conjectured the reading el as in 3b. Yahweh watching from heaven His faithful ones, became angry when he saw the heathen contending against them, and, therefore, against Him.

30. This verse is a fitting termination to the song. It began with words manifesting trust and complete confidence in the Lord, it ends with words which show the reason of that confidence. Everything is known to Yahweh; He has already marked the limits beyond which even the mightiest of earth cannot go.

31. Liturgical additions, that is, doxologies and invocations, have been appended to many of the Psalms, Ps. cxxiv., 8; cxxi., 8; cxxviii., 6b, cxxxi., 3, etc. They were added for use in services of the second Temple. These verses contain a prayer for the king. It is impossible now to state the name of the king.

32. And may he raise high the horn of His anointed.

32. This verse is parallel with the preceding. Lxx: χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. The king was called the anointed of the Lord, 2 S. 1, 14b., etc. This verse and the preceding have but five syllables.

. . . . . .

An examination of the contents of this song plainly indicates the motive that prompted its composition. It is evidently a song of triumph. Israel had been engaged in some contest in which numbers and military equipment were in favor of the enemy. Nothing seemed to be more probable than an overwhelming, crushing defeat. It was not a civil war, otherwise the odds would not have been as great as is suggested by the poem. But by means of the skill of the leader, who arose from a comparatively obscure station, and especially with the help of the Lord, the Israelites gained a great victory. It was in order to commemorate this victory, some have thought, that the original poem may have been written. Songs suggested by current events, were very numerous among the Hebrews, as among other peoples. In the Psalter are many poems which plainly reveal the occasions for which they were composed. To take but one example, the xlv. Psalm is evidently a wedding song.[1] The style of the song in the second chapter of the first book of Samuel indicates a time when literary productions had attained a high degree of excellence. It indicates also what I may call the artificial period. By this I do not mean that the song lacks anything of intensity and vigor, nor that it is wanting in an enthusiastic religious trustfulness; but I mean that it has been written with careful regard for manner of expression. The syllabic formation of verse has been carefully observed. The antitheses and parallelisms are studied; the arrangement of the words is in conformity with the spirit of the thought, at times rapid and vehement, then slow, dignified and stately. The covert allusion also to the possibility of pride entering the heart of him who has been merely an instrument in the hands of the Lord, the delicate manner in which it is expressed, indicates a knowledge of human nature, and a mastery of words, attained generally only after long

[1] cf. also the "Songs of the Return," pss. cxxi–cxxxiv.

experience.[1] With regard to the special occasion for which this song was written, different opinions have been maintained. Budde[2] puts it much later than 400 B. C. The mention of the Hasidim in the song, and their being contrasted with the irreligious Jew (whether heathen or Hellenic, the essential idea is the same), seem, according to another view, to indicate at least the period after which the song was composed. Again, it appears in the poem that the victory gained was unexpected, that the weak overcame the mighty. Probably this has led to the inference that the song was composed during the year when the Hasidim were comparatively small in number. Moreover, the confidence and intense religious spirit permeating it, suggest the time when that party was in the purest and most fervent state ; therefore, it has been concluded, when that party was under the direct command of one of the earlier Maccabees. Mattathias and his family came from the town of Modein ; before their revolt became general, the family, at least to a great number of the Jews, was unknown ; hence, a member of the family could be said to be of humble origin, to have come, poetically at least, from an obscure place. It is to be noted how the song insists upon the ideas of the poor becoming rich, the man of humble origin being placed among princes. Nicanor, the Syrian, with an immense army, after having treated the priests of Jerusalem with scorn and ridicule, advanced against the small army of Judas Maccabee, and was totally routed. Judas then stood at the head of the Jewish commonwealth.[3] Cheyne[4] is of the opinion that the song is certainly post-Deuteronomic, and probably an early post-Exilic work. Driver[5] leans to this view, insisting also on its national, rather than individual character. Smend[6] supposed it originally to have been spoken in the name of the people, and intended to depict Israel's triumph over the heathen. Kuenen, in a general way, places the time of its composition after the introduction of the monarchy. Ewald thought it might be ascribed to Ahijah or Jehu, and refer to the defeat

[1] Compare the very ancient fragment contained in 2 S. 1, 17–27.
[2] Polychrome Hebrew Text of S.
[3] Schurer : Hist, of the Jews I., 1.
[4] Bampton Lectures, 1889.
[5] Notes on the Hebrew text of S.
[6] ZATW 1888; referred to by Driver.

of the heathen by the Israelites. Thenius[1] held that it was written by the author of the Book of Samuel, and later was attributed to Hannah, that originally it commemorated the defeat of Goliath by David. Keil[2] and Delitzsch, and some other writers who follow implicitly the two former scholars, belong to the Jewish school. Early Christian commentators, as Estius, Menochius, Malvenda, have generally[3] adhered to the Jewish tradition, without question; and have also interpreted the song along Jewish lines. Sarah and Hannah, both barren, but remembered at last by God, were regarded as types of Israel; the Biblical accounts of them are the New Year's Day lesson in the Synagogue.[4] According to the Jewish tradition, based upon the title, the song was composed and sung by Hannah, after the Lord had granted her prayer and given her a son.

Aside from whatever value this song may have as an historical and literary monument, it shows in a wonderful way the deep religiousness of the writer, and may be considered as an indication of a spirit generally prevalent among the Jews. It is for this phase that it is so valuable to-day. It is the sacred record of a time when the Lord was believed to be really present among His people, and watching carefully over those who obeyed His laws, shielding them in the times of danger, and delivering them from the foes who seemed about to overwhelm and destroy them.

ENEAS B. GOODWIN.

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[1] Die Bücher Samuelis.
[2] Commentary on the Book of Samuel; cf. also Reuss: La Bible.
[3] Migne: Curs. Scrip. vol. ix.
[4] Cheyne: Bampton Lectures, 1889, p. 57.

THE PRE-MOSAIC SABBATH.—II.

THE SEVEN-DAY WEEK.—"Whatever controversies exist respecting the origin of the week, there can be none about the great antiquity, on particular occasions at least among the Semitic races, of measuring time by a period of seven days. . . . Its antiquity is so great, its observance so widespread[1] that it has been very generally thrown back as far as the creation of man."[2] To what must the institution of the week be attributed? Did it originate in an event or custom acting independently on different nations? Was it transmitted from one to another by international intercourse, or does it imply a common source antedating any special ethnic circumstance or natural phenomenon whence it derived its origin?[3] Wherever we place its origin, the relation between the week of nations and the sabbath is a matter of the highest importance in considering the present question. The discovery of universal acquaintance with this tradition would be extremely satisfactory; yet it is unnecessary for those who ascribe the origin of the week to some remote event. For, no trace of the deluge has ever been found in Africa or Oceanica;[4] nevertheless, the tradition is currently received. The absence of world-wide familiarity with the origin of the week can not, therefore, destroy the value of an inquiry into the position accorded the seventh day, as well as the number seven, amongst the nations of the earth.

Nearly all modern nations borrowed the week from the Romans or received it simultaneously with the propagation of Christianity[5] The Romans themselves having had a system of Nones and Kalends, did not adopt the week much before the

[1] Humboldt, Researches, (new ed.) I. 283; La Place, Exposé du Système du Monde, p. 272.

[2] Smith, Bible Dict. IV, 3490.

[3] Some hold that the week would owe its origin to a singular primitive event only in case the observance of a sabbath day could be proved among nations unable to draw their knowledge from the Bible.

[4] Lenormant, Beginnings of History, I, 382.

[5] Lotz, op. c., p. 12.

advent of Christ.[1] The theory ascribing its usage among the Romans to Egyptian influence[2] is now antiquated.[3] Riehm traces its introduction into Rome to Syria.[4] Unlike the Romans, the Greeks divided the month into three periods of ten days each. Both nations agree in vesting the number seven with a sacred character, and dedicating a seventh day to some of the gods. Josephus writes that the earliest Greek philosophers lived according to Jewish law, and that the multitude of mankind had an inclination for a long time to follow Jewish observances: "For there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come."[5] More forcible still is the language of Philo: "After the world had been completed according to the perfect nature of the number six, the Father hallowed the day following, the seventh, praising it and calling it holy. For that day is the festival, not of one city or country, but of all the earth, a day which alone it is right to call the day of festival for all people and the birthday of the world."[6] Clement of Alexandria declares that the seventh day is recognized as sacred, not only by the Hebrews, but also by the Greeks.[7] Several passages of Greek and Roman literature tell how labor was suspended on feast days, but as there is no way of ascertaining whether these days occurred at regular defined periods of time, to insist on the fact would be useless.

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[1] Lotz, l. c.; Tirinius, Gen. I, 3.

[2] Dio Cassius, XXXVII, 18, 19; Smith, Bible Dict. 2764; *Catholic Presbyterian*, March, 1881, p. 204.

[3] Riehm, Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums, II, 1325; Love, Bibliotheca Sacra, Oct., 1879, p. 740: Hommel, Hebrew Traditions (Eng. Tr.), p. 40.

[4] Riehm, l. c.

[5] Contra Apion, II, 42.

[6] Philo, Works (Bohn Ed.) vol. I, ch. I, 30.

[7] To confirm his assertion, Clement appeals to Hesiod where he says: "The first, the fourth, and the seventh is holy" (Ex Operibus et Diebus 770). The context, however, shows that Hesiod refers to the days of the month rather than of the week, because the line following the quotation, dedicates the seventh day of the month to Apollo. Despite this inaccuracy in presenting the thought of Hesiod, the sacredness of the seventh day among the Greeks is evidenced by some lines in Homeric poetry. The Iliad sings the sacredness of the number seven in sacrificial rites (Book IX, 122), and the Odyssey shows how significant events were expected to occur on the seventh day, and actually took place on it (Book XII. 399; XIV. 252; XV. 477). These particular passages are not cited by Clement, but he refers to some in which the sense is more direct. "And on the seventh there came the sacred day." "The seventh was sacred." And finally, he tells how "the elegies of Solon intensely deify the seventh day." Conf. Clement, Stromata V., 41, Migne, P. G. VI, 748.

Eusebius gives expression to pretty much the same line of thought as Clement. Conf. Praepar. Evang. XIII, 13.

The labors of specialists on this question, as far as Egypt is concerned, lead to contradictory conclusions; some find no vestiges at all of a weekly division of time in Egypt,[1] others vouch for exactly the contrary state of affairs.[2] The patrons of the former opinion take their position on the ground that the old monuments of that country contain no trace of any such period of time as a week. To confirm their view they interpret a passage of Dio Cassius to mean that the Egyptians received the week directly from the Jews.[3] Reliable Egyptologists ignore the first reason because the monuments are posterior to the adoption of the thirty days' division of time. And as for the second, it appears to run counter to the law of ethnic influence in so far as subordinate civilizations do not, as a rule, impress their customs and institutes upon higher and more powerful ones. Moreover, the obvious sense of the lines in Cassius seems to be that the week had its origin amongst the Hebrews.[4] But, is there any positive evidence to believe that the week was really in vogue amongst the early Egyptians? First of all, the week of seven days was recognized by them in the earliest times, though the decade afterwards superceded it.[5] For "the division of time into decades must date after the adoption of the solar year "because the week was the approximate result of the lunar division of time which is the older of the two. Besides, they observed a seven days' feast in honor of Apis, and passed seventy days mourning for the dead, which goes to show that they were familiar with the septenary idea.[6] Furthermore, "rest was enjoined by the Egyptians on the seventh day simply because they regarded it as dies nefastus," a day on which it would be unlucky to undertake any work. Jastrow goes farther and says that "the Hebrews themselves preserved the recollection of its (the sabbath) having been observed in Egypt." The value of the argument is magnified when placed side by side

[1] Ideler, Chronologie der Aegypten I, 132; R. Smith, Encyc. Brit. (9th ed.) XXI, 134; Riehm, l. c.; Vaughan, l. c.; Laney, op. c., p. 175.

[2] Wilkinson, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians (Birch ed.) II, 319 sq.; Proctor, *Contemporary Rev.*, March 1875, p. 610 sq., and June, 1879, p. 404 sq.; Clifford, *Dublin Rev*, April, 1883, p. 413.

[3] *Dublin Rev.*, Jan., 1883, p. 41.

[4] *La Controverse*, Jan. 16, 1882, p. 121.

[5] Wilkinson, op. c., p. 319; *Dublin Review*, April, 1883, p. 413; Wood, op. c., p. 26.

[6] Wilkinson, l. c.

with what Rawlinson says in his description of the temple of Ammon built by Rameses II.: "Here is the calendar of feasts for the first five months of the Egyptian year, which shows that, on the average, more than one day in five was held to be sacred." [1] It is no longer plausible to argue that, even though Egypt possessed the week, she must have borrowed it from Babylonia, for the researches of Weigemann, Morgan, Jequier, and Lampre point to a civilization in Egypt before any appeared in Babylonia.[2]

According to some, the Indians divided the month into two equal parts,[3] but the literature of that people reveals a week in the early days of her history, and one derived from the same source as the Egyptian week.[4] For, "the old Hindus chose the new and full moon as days of sacrifice. The eve of the sacrifice was called Upavastha, and in Buddhism the same word has come to denote a sabbath observed on the full moon, on the day when there is no moon, and on the two days which are the eighth from the full and new moon respectively, with fasting and other religious exercises.[5] The prayers addressed to their goddesses show that seven and the seventh day were holy amongst them. Thus, "glory to thee on the seven lunar days." [6] Their religious monuments are so constructed as to lay stress on "the sacredness of the number seven" [7] inasmuch as their pagodas contain seven square enclosures, one within the other.

Chinese customs indicate no little familiarity with a sacred seventh day. First of all, they possess an astronomical table whose use is general, and whose antiquity is unquestionable.[8] The heavens are divided into twenty-eight constellations, and the charts into four parts, each containing seven constellations. The name of the center group in each of these four minor divisions, is used to signify their sabbath. In Christian almanacs in China the names of these constellations are marked as

[1] History of Ancient Egypt, II, 387-388.
[2] N. Y. *Sun*, Dec. 5, 1897.
[3] Lotz, op. c., p. 12.
[4] Zahn, Geschichte des Sonntags, p. 25; Kitto, Cyclopædia, Sabbath, p. 654.—Wood, op. c , p. 26 ; *Catholic Presbyterian*, March, 1881, pp. 203, 204.
[5] Encyc. Brit. (9th ed.) XXI, 134.
[6] Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1889, p. 332.
[7] Jensen, *Sunday-School Times*, Jan. 16, 1892, p. 35.
[8] Johnston, *Catholic Presbyterian*, March, 1881 ; p. 199.

days of rest.[1] It is generally admitted that this division of time was ancient in the days of Confucius. Legge traces it to the twelfth century B. C., and some of the constellations are mentioned by Yao, nearly twelve centuries earlier,[2] which would run as far back as the Accadian division of time.

Their Book of Diagrams[3] contains a sentence favoring the idea of a sabbath as well as a septenary division of time, at an early period. "Seven days complete a revolution."[4] This idea is confirmed by Lamy when he writes that the ancient kings of China commanded a cessation of labor on the seventh day.[5] The Board of Rites in China publishes an annual Imperial Almanac, which applies to every seventh day a special word not in ordinary use and explained by lexicons as signifying secret or closed. While claiming no knowledge of its origin, the Chinese say that its use antedates the memory of man.[6] Finally, when one member of a family dies, the survivors prostrate themselves every morning and evening for seven days. When three times seven days elapse, the funeral procession occurs. This ended, they continue to make oblations and prostrations for seven times seven days, thus betraying a resemblance to the Egyptians.[7] The value of these facts is increased when the allowance is made for the rigid conservatism of the Chinese, who would never tolerate any change in the form of a calendar or their symbolism, though they adopted suggestions pertaining to errors of calculation and the like.[8]

Lamy vouches for Arabian familiarity with the week.[9] This is all the more valuable when viewed in the light of the South Arabian inscriptions and traditions, which reveal "an entirely original method of name formation that must be placed in a class by itself owing to its peculiarly religious character."[10] Nevertheless, Schrader holds that the Arabs

[1] Johnston op. c., p. 200.
[2] *Catholic Presbyterian*, March, 1881; p. 200.
[3] The Book of Diagrams is an ancient classic edited by Confucius.
[4] Zahn, op. c., p. 25; Lewis, op. c., p. 241; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct, 1879, p. 741; April, 1889, p. 334; *Catholic Presbyterian*, March, 1881, p. 200.
[5] Lamy, Genesis, p. 175.
[6] Johnston, op. c., pp. 201–202.
[7] Genesis, I, 3.
[8] Johnston, l. c. Thus far no traces of a weekly division of time have been found in Japan.
[9] Lamy, op c., p. 175; Kitto, l c. [10] Hommel, op. c., p. 60.

borrowed the week from the Hebrews.[1] It is further alleged that, whilst sacred amongst the Arabs, the septenary number was accorded a less dignified position amongst them than amongst the Hebrews, because the Arabs did not derive the word signifying to swear from the root of the word seven, whereas the Hebrews did.[2] The very fact that details of this kind are brought forward by ancient writers goes to show that the septenary idea had more than a superficial root amongst this people.

Amongst the Persians in Zoroastrianism, whose author was a contemporary of Moses, the number seven was sacred,[3] and many traces of its sacredness are to be found in modern Persian literature in which seven plays a noteworthy part.[4] Native dictionaries enumerate about one hundred septenary groups of objects designated as seven, so and so.[5] Its use in their religious worship is worthy of mention. They paid homage to two divinities; one, the God of light and goodness; the other, of darkness and evil. The former was surrounded by seven spirits, the latter by seven archdemons.[6]

The Phoenicians set aside one day in seven for sacred purposes.[7] Very scant indeed are the traditions relating to the Aramaeans. Nothing can be gleaned from their literature or from the traditions of neighboring nations about the use of the number seven in that territory. Lotz, in treating another topic, intimates that the Aramaeans might have received a seven-day week from Babylonian astrologers.[8]

Schrader grants that the negroes possessed a word meaning sabbath, but he claims that Alexandrian Christians were the first to introduce the week into Africa.[9] Nevertheless, those acquainted with this race hold that a weekly division of time was observed on the western coast of Africa at a period when the inhabitants had no intercourse with Europeans.[10] It is especially striking to find that "every man dedicated one day every week to the honor of his tutelary deity."[11] The people

[1] Studien und Kritiken I, p. 344. [2] Lotz, op. c., p. 44.
[3] Love, op. c., p. 741; Hadley Essays, Philological and Critical, p. 329.
[4] Jensen, l. c. [5] Hadley, l. c [6] Ibid.
[7] Porphyry, apud Dwight, Vol. III, p. 255. [8] Op. c., p 35.
[9] Schrader, op.; Lotz, op. c., p. 24.
[10] One reason for this is that "the different days are distinguished by different names in the language of the negroes," Bell, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Apr. 1889, p. 335.
[11] Ibid.

of Guinea refrained from labor on the seventh day, and dedicated it to ease and worship.[1] In fine, the observance of religious and festal days, as well as the existence of the week, was general amongst the tribes of Africa south of Guinea and including it.[2]

It is no easy task to reach a satisfatory conclusion in this matter as far as the American continent is concerned. Authorities are divided, and their accounts are very meager. It is almost certain, however, that the ancient Mexicans did not divide time into weeks of seven days.[3] In his researches, Humboldt quotes authors who believe that a cycle of seven days was in vogue with the Peruvians.[4] For they reckoned the months by the moon, the half months by the increase and waning of the moon, and the week by its quarters.[5] Whatever may be the value of the different views, certain it is that either the people of this continent never had the tradition, or, if they did, very feeble traces of it remain to tell the tale.

Nothing shows more clearly how deeply rooted the sacredness of the number seven was in the character of the non-Semitic, as well as the pre-Semitic civilization of Babylon, than the ancient Babylonian literature, particularly the ancient Balylonian hymns that have come down to us in the original Sumero-Accadian idiom as well as in the Assyro-Semitic translations."[6] No doubt this paved the way for using the number seven to mark definite periods of time. Very ancient indeed is the custom, as may be seen from the following incident dating back almost three thousand years

[1] Hurd, ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] They had months of twenty days, composed of four weeks of five days each. The last day of each week was a public market day, and was partially devoted to rest and recreation. Conf. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico Vol. III; Bancroft, Native Races II, 385; Humboldt, Researches I, 237.

[4] They did not assign names for the days of the week; neither did the Hebrews.

[5] Baily claims that the Hindu week was known to the inhabitants of America. Conf. Humboldt, op. c., p. 285.

[6] Schrader, Cuneiform Inscriptions (Eng. trans.) I, 19; Pinches, *Independent*, June 30, 1892, p. 16. Seven was the number of the original divisions of the earth, which they conceived to be as many stories high piled one upon the other. For this reason the Assyrians and Babylonians built their towers seven stories high. For a like reason the infernal regions were seven-fold, one hell surrounding and encompassing another. Seven were the evil spirits, seven-headed their fabulous serpent, seven-headed their feathered monster, seven-tailed their legendary fish. The urbs sacra (Gen. X 10) was called the city of seven spheres. They gave seven names to one of the seven planets and were probably the first to descry seven stars in the Pleiades. Seven were the libations of Chasiastra after the deluge, seven the knots wherewith the sick were bound in order to have sickness of every kind leave them.

before Christ. Gudea, Prince of Lagash, a city near the Shatt-el-Hai Canal, having completed the temple of Ningirsu, prepared a grand festival thus described in one of Gudea's inscription: "When he had built E-ninnu, his beloved temple, he set his mind free and washed his hands; for seven days no corn was ground; the maid-servant was equal to her mistress; the man-servant walked by the side of his master; the strong man rested by the side of the weak man in my city."[1]

In the Adapha legend, which originated at least fifteen hundred years before Christ,[2] is related how the south wind ceased to blow for seven days because Adapha broke its wings.[3] The same division of time is used in the Chaldean account of the flood. Tradition even recounts how it continued seven nights and six days, ending at daybreak of the seventh day. The waters receded after seven days, and Chasiastra, having disembarked, offers seven libations to propitiate the gods.[4]

Furthermore, these early records point to a continuous count of the days of the year by sevens. That they had a week may be conjectured from the line describing the deeds of the seven evil spirits: "Dies in orbem euntes dei mali sunt," and thereby impersonating the days of the week in these seven evil spirits.[5] Repeatedly are allusions made to the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth days of the month. The discharge of special duties is enjoined on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth and nineteenth days of the Intercalary Elul. Evidently these instances are quite different from nearly all hitherto mentioned. And the reason is obvious because the former examples show how the days of the year were grouped into higher units of seven days each, whereas the latter indicate that a regular count from seventh to seventh day was made.

Did the Assyrians and Babylonians keep these days as sabbath days? In answering it is important to observe that the quest for a sabbath exactly like the Mosaic would prove fruitless.[6] For, in applying the Sabbath Law, the Jews were ex-

[1] Jensen, l. c.
[2] The clay tablet on which it is inscribed is that old.
[3] Jensen l. c.
[4] Smith, Chaldean Account of Genesis (Revised ed.). p. 279, sq.
[5] Lotz, op. c., p. 37.
[6] Jastrow, *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1898, p. 313, sq.

tremists, emphasizing its negative element, and almost completely ignoring the positive, whereas the spirit of a sabbath institution excludes excess in either direction, and calls for a harmonious blending of the two elements. Neither is it necessary for our present purpose to find these elements strongly marked and fully developed. The writers who refuse to admit any sabbath in the absence of a complete parallelism or the want of practices embodying a perfection of detail in sabbath observance, lose sight of the people's condition as well as the nature of the sabbatic tradition. To find in the inscription signs of such observance, in those times, as bespeaks the practical realization of the positive and negative element of true sabbath keeping, is all that is absolutely required. That such was the case amongst the Babylonians and Assyrians, will be evident from an examination of the data advanced by Assyriologists.

The fifth tablet of the creation legend has been rendered thus :

> On the seventh he appointed a holy day
> (And) to cease from all business he commanded.[1]

This translation of the second line appeared in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology,[2] but, as its value is questioned, no strong argument can be thereon based.[3] All admit the rendering of the first line. It records the observance of a sabbath, and one too on which the Babylonians were wont to rest, for the Assyrian word —umu nuh libbi-shab-batu,[4] —means day of rest of the heart.[5] Much comment has been created about the true signification of this word. Jastrow holds that it refers to the pacification of the deity, and hence signifies a day of rest for the heart of the gods.[6] Jensen coincides with this view, but adds that in that case the Babylonion "shabbatu" would be a day of prayer and repentance.[7] This is certainly to the point inasmuch as it is naught but the positive element of sabbath observance. Moreover, the same author notes how Noe offers a sacrifice on the seventh day

[1] Fox, ap. Records of the Past, IX 118. [2] Vol. II, 427.
[3] Smith, op. c., p., 65; Johnston, *Catholic Presbyterian*, Jan., 1881, p. 37.
[4] Some write Shappatu. Jastrow refutes the reason for this rendering, op. c., p. 317, 318.
[5] Boscawen, *Presbyterian Review*, Jan., 1882, p. 689; Riehm, op. c. II, 1326.
[6] Haupt subscribes to this view. [7] Jensen, l. c.

after a seventh day distinguished from others by its restfulness.[1] Whatever may have been his intention, Jensen points out a mingling of the positive and negative features of sabbath keeping.[2]

The notion of a sabbath amongst these peoples is made clearer still by another document whose discovery is thus described by the finder. "In 1869 I discovered amongst other things a curious religious calendar of the Assyrians, in which every month is divided into four weeks, and the seventh days or sabbaths are marked out days, on which no work should be undertaken."[3]

The injunctions specified in the Intercalary Calendar apply not only to the seventh, but also to the fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, and nineteenth days of the month. The hemerology traces a distinct line of difference between the directions given for these days and the prescriptions to be fulfilled on other days, inasmuch as the former are far more detailed and quite unique. Besides, the tablet intimates that business of a national character was suspended; for "regaliter loqui" probably signifies the admission of citizens to an assembly in which councils were held, and this, according to the tablet, was forbidden on that day. And then the king is ordered to sacrifice and offer libations "in the presence of the god or gods to whom the day was consecrated and to raise his hands at the high place of the god."[4] This implies a signal difference between these five days and other days as

[1] Ibid.

[2] Robertson Smith asserts that the rendering shabbatu is an emendation made by Delitzsch. Were this true the conclusions grounded on this legend would be valueless. Sayce, however, maintains that Smith is mistaken. The reading is that of the original tablet, and the published text was corrected by Sayce long before Delitzsch re-examined the original. Moreover, Sayce says, "it is interpreted in the Bilingual tablet as signifying a day of peace or completion of labors." This would mean a noteworthy similarity; the Hebrew word for sabbath has at its root the idea of rest, completeness; the same idea is at the root of the word in the inscription and is translated sabbath or feast day. Conf. Ency. Brit. XXI, 135; Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 76; Records of the Past, VII, 57.

[3] This tablet lithograph in cuneiform has been translated thus: The seventh day of Merodach and Tir-panitu. The Shepherd of many people, the flesh of birds (and) cooked fruit eats not; the garments of his body he changes not; White robes he puts not on; the King (in) his chariot rides not; In royal fashion he legislates not; a place of garrison the general by word of mouth appoints not; to make a sacred spot it is suitable; in the night, in the presence of Merodach and Ictar, the king his offering makes; sacrifices he offers. Cuneiform Insc. of W. Asia IV, 32, 33. Conf. Smith, Assyrian Discoveries, p. 12. Records of Past, VII, 157.

[4] The sacrifice was usually offered at night.

far as religious observance is concerned.[1] Some have tried to destroy the value of the argument by saying that "this 'Day of Grace' or 'favor' is evidently one with which only the king and wise men are concerned."[2] This, however, is to mistake the sense of the document, because, according to Assyriologists, the day is favorable for the people at large and wrathful for the king, who must therefore propitiate the deity in the manner prescribed.[3] Again, "since the life of the king, as well as that of the priests, does not differ so much from that of the citizens, it is reasonable to presume that similar prescriptions were given to both, though it is likely that kings and priests were obliged to carry out some precepts other than those enjoined the citizens."[4]

Why should the nineteenth day be circumscribed by conditions similar to the seventh, fourteenth, etc., days? Some consider it inexplicable;[5] others dismiss it summarily.[6] Several eminent scholars say that it is the date of a seventh or great sabbath, which occurred on the forty-ninth day.[7] Moreover, there is, on the part of some, a tendency to regard hul....gal, which Sayce translates sabbatu,[8] as a term whose meaning is still doubtful,[9] whilst others hold that it signifies evil or unlawful day.[10] The fact that the septenary number was sacred, and that the day was looked upon as favorable for the masses,[11] would restrict any semblance of truth that might lie in this latter opinion to the king himself. Neither will it avail the advocates of that theory to rest an argument on the component parts of the word,[12] because when two cuneiform signs are blended into a compound word, their common signification is frequently obliterated.[13]

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[1]Contrary to this is the statement of Durand, who says that "they (the five days specified) have nothing characteristic, because all the days of the month are under the special protection of some god."—*Etudes Religieuses*, June, 1895, p. 217. This statement is no basis for such a conclusion.

[2]Hessey, op. c., p. XXIV. [3]Jensen, op. c., p. 36. [4]Lotz, op. c., p. 56.

[5]*Etudes Religieuses*, l. c. [6]Lotz, op. c., p. 56.

[7]Haupt endorses this position. Also Proctor, *Contemporary Review*, March, 1875. Prof. Brown says: "There is no more difficulty in the classification of the nineteenth with the seventh day than in the use of the Hebrew sabbath to denote a day whose observance is to be similar to that of the sabbath, vid. Leviticus XXIII, 32, where the additional modifier sabbathon does not affect the pertinence of the illustration."—*Presbyterian Review*, October, 1882, p. 692. Jastrow has a somewhat similar explanation to that of Haupt. Conf., op. c., p. 321.

[8]Records of the Past, VII, 160. [9]Etudes, l. c.

[10]Wellhausen, Prophets of Israel, p. 384; Records of the Past, VII, 160.

[11]Jensen, op. c., p. 36. [12]Lotz, op. c., p. 57. [13]Ibid.

Nevertheless, it is urged that "this theory could only stand as long as the Calendar, for the Intercalary Elul was the only one supposed to exist. It collapses as soon as the fact is brought to light that calendars for other months exist which do not have their sabbaths accommodated to the overtime of Intercalary Elul or of each other, but invariably note the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth."[1] However well taken this point may be, it does not present an insuperable difficulty, because there are two ways in which the division of the month into four weeks might have been arranged. According to the first, the month could have been used as a fixed measure of time, and four weeks of seven days each so arranged in every month that the extra day and a half, or nearly three days in two months, could be intercalated. In the second method, granting that the lunar month does not contain an exact number of days, men would see the impracticability of attempting to use any subdivision of the month, month by month, and would simply take the seven-day week as the nearest approximation to a convenient subdivision of a quarter-month, and suffer that period to go on continually, unconcerned about the fact that each new month would begin on a different day of the week.[2]

Another fact presents itself in Amos V. 26, to confirm what has been said, a fact inexplicable unless the existence of a week throughout the year be admitted. Some commentators believe that Amos accuses the Israelites of having worshipped Moloch and a star in the desert; others, that the prophet predicts their worship by the Israelites.[3] Two solutions suggest themselves. The first that the Jews adored the true God from time imme-

[1] Hessey, op. c., p. XXVII; *Presbyterian Review*, October, 1882, pp. 689, 693; *Etudes*, June, 1895, p. 218.

[2] That they really did not preoccupy themselves about it is clear from a statement made by Theodore Pinches. He contends that many lines of the tablet lithographed in the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia (IV R., 32, 33) were mutilated. Smith, however, restored them by comparing them with the tablets of other months having feasts. His examination led him to conclude that the same days in all of the months were feasts, and were characterized by the same prescriptions. Whereupon Pinches infers that the same days were hul....gal in every month.—Conf. Pinches, op. Lotz, op. c., p. 59.

[3] At all events, the passage leaves little doubt about the possibility of such worship in the days of Amos. For, among the Babylonians, saccurt was the name of a god to whom the planet Saturn was sacred. The planet Saturn was called Kaiwan or Chiun (conf. Schrader, Studien und Kritiken I., 324) Later, Saturn was considered as the ruler of the seventh day of the week. Hence it is more than a matter of chance that Amos mentions the worship of Moloch and a star.

morial, and subsequently paid idolatrous worship to Saturn because the seventh day of the week was sacred to him as well as to Jehovah. The second that, in olden times, previous to Amos, the Jews worshipped Saturn, and hence the sabbath would be a holy day only because on it they paid homage to Saturn, ruler of that day. Both explanations imply the existence of a week amongst the Babylonians at the time of Amos, if that prophet's reproach had any real foundation in the conduct of Israel. For if the Jews had any knowledge of the association of different days of the week with the planets, it must have been generally current in the Western Orient.[1]

Before drawing any conclusion from the premises so far outlined, it may not be amiss to add a word about the existence of sacrifices amongst primitive peoples. History tells that prayers, oblations, sacrifices and religious ceremonies played a leading role in the life of all nations. The idea, crude and imperfect in certain conditions, was evolved and perfected according to the development of religious ritual amongst men. And the true idea of prayer and sacrifice grew dim and obscure in proportion as man's wretchedness and degradation led him more and more away from the true God.

The fundamental notion of sacrifice rests on a sense of insufficiency and dependence naturally welling up in the human soul, and the necessity of giving external expression to it. But, despite the fact that the dominant note of sacrificial worship consists in this, its origin has been bitterly disputed.[2]

[1] This second explanation is the vestige of a theory long since exploded. It is as old as the days of Guilielmus Parisiensis, because he deals it several blows. (De Legibus IV, XX.) More than six decades have passed since Baur revived the idea, drawing the bulk of his matter from the well-known fable of the Greeks and Romans concerning the golden age of rest and equality under Saturn, and a custom therewith connected of giving slaves a holiday at saturnalia. But the Semitic nations had no notion of the fable at the root of this theory, nor had the Egyptians, who were nearer to the Jews than the Indo Germans. In a word, "so fine spun is the theory that it falls to pieces at the first touch." (Brittmann, Mythology I, 44.) And then it is not necessary to adopt Baur's theory to admit what was likely the case, though fortuitous, that the day which was observed as a sabbath by the Jews was dedicated by astrologers to Saturn. Von Bohlen espoused the cause of Baur and tried to fortify his position by an appeal to the text of Amos already cited. No doubt when the Hebrews proved faithless to their God, they betook themselves to the service of idols—a fact in which there is little to form the basis of a theory whose purport is to strengthen the position of Baur. Conf. Ewald, who scornfully rejects the theory of Baur and Von Bohlen. Wellhausen, History of Israel, p. 112.

[2] Some ascribe their origin to the devil's influence, others to the light of human reason alone, whilst a third class attributes it to Divine institution or revelation. The Bible does not explicitly refer the institution of the first sacrifices to God; still

Nevertheless, theologians assert that God is their author inasmuch as they are a testimony of His absolute sway and man's utter helplessness. At the same time the determination of the matter of sacrifices, as well as the accompanying rites, may fall within the sphere of human legislation. While there is much room for harmony in the opinions upon the origin of sacrifices, their universality amid primitive nations has provoked little controversy. Since then nearly all ancient peoples had their sacrificial worship, since they followed rituals and ceremonials in their sacrifices,[1] since they had sacred places[2], it is a matter of course to conclude that they must have had a sacred time, fixed and regularly recurring. This is rendered necessary owing to the very nature of civil and domestic society.[3] And when these considerations are weighed collectively in conjunction with the existence of a weekly period of time, and the all but universal sacredness of the septenary number, it is by no means rash to infer that the regularly recurring period of time must have been the seventh day.

But what led so many nations to divide time into weeks, and set aside a sacred seventh day? Some reply that the phases of the moon suggested the division as also the dedication of four days a month to that planet. True, the moon's quarters might have prompted a corresponding division of the month, but, at the same time, only the new and full moon would attract sufficient attention to lead to the institution of sacred days. Moreover, the moon is not visible on the twenty-eighth day, and hence the sacredness of that day could hardly be ascribed to that planet. Could not primitive peoples have forgotten that the ease characterizing these four days belonged at first to the worship of the moon? This seems likely inasmuch as the worship of the moon was at its highest in those times, whereas many other planets subsequently shared the homage paid the moon, and, therefore, either on account of the sacredness of the number seven, or for other reasons, the order of

it strongly insinuates their divine origin. The fathers have taught that the sacrifices of animals were types of a future sublime immolation All sacrifices, however, did not originate in the patriarchal tradition. (Vid Bouquillon, De Origine Sacrificii. Robertson Smith, op. c., pp. 214, 215, 265, 266).

[1] Robertson Smith, op. c., p. 206.

[2] Rawlinson, Five Great Monarchs; Smith, op. c., 207.

[3] Tappehorn, op. c., p. 254.

days set aside for rest was gradually changed. Nevertheless, it would be extraordinary to find nations substituting the twenty-eighth for the first day as observed in their early history unless moved by more weighty reasons than those alleged. The moon itself could not suggest such a change. Neither could the sacredness of the number seven; for no matter how much that number figured in disposing the order of the sabbath, it alone could never have been a factor potent enough to determine the institution of a resting day. Finally, Wellhausen asserts that the worship of the sun, moon and stars does not appear to have been very much in vogue amongst the earliest Semites.[1]

Others are equally strong in maintaining that the origin of the week can be traced to the seven planets. Certain notions about the science of astronomy in Babylonia and Assyria have paved the way to this position. Two points, however, considerably weaken the plausibility of the theory. First, the knowledge of astrology was almost entirely confined to soothsayers and priests, and the astrological week which was only in private use, did not have the same disposition of the planets as the week in general use.[2] Secondly, the Babylonians themselves must have borrowed the week from some nation antedating the history of Babylonia.[3] For, though the calendars already examined are written in Syrian, many Accadian expressions and technical terms are therein to be found indicating their non-Semitic origin as well as the fact that they must have been borrowed prior to the seventeenth century before Christ, "when the Accadian language seems to have been extinct."[4]

Where then can be found the idea underlying this almost universal observance of a sabbath in some shape or form, if not in the Written Word declaring that septenary time was instituted as the last act in the drama of creation? God labored six days; He rested on the seventh, hallowed and sanctified it. Such is the biblical reason for a division of time into

[1] Wellhausen, ap. Robt. Smith, op. c., p. 116.
[2] Lotz, op. c., pp. 35, 36, 37, 106.
[3] This counteracts the force of any argument against the antiquity of the sabbath drawn from the fact that Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldeans.
[4] Records of the Past, VII, pp. 157, 158, 2d note, p. 160.

seven days. In assigning it to the creation, it is simply relegated to the same category as other traditions of that time.[1] The history of nations proves that the sabbath rightly belongs to that class. For, its existence has been traced amongst nations widely separated in time and place, and independent of each other's influence. Under such circumstances a sabbath institution whose fundamental principle is the same must be admitted to have its root in some common source whence all peoples could imbibe the idea. The only record which appears to verify the various conditions required, is the Inspired Word of God Himself.

This prepares us for a summary consideration of the a priori arguments for a pre-Mosaic sabbath. Every one familiar with the principles of historical investigation knows that the institutions of a people are the natural outgrowth of its character and environment.[2] An institution common to many nations, and standing the test of time, implies like conditions amongst them. The wider its prevalence the greater the presumption that a common need called it into existence. And when all but universal in time and place, the institution is most probably rooted in natural law. History teaches that the seventh day rest is almost universal in our day, and as a consequence it must be imbedded in the laws of nature. To some extent, it is a positive institution, but positive precept is frequently necessary to lend effectiveness and definitiveness to moral principles. The vast sacrifice which seventh day rest entails in worldly interests is enough to show that arbitrary measures could never have been its parent, else long since would it have been buried amid the ruins of time. That it still stands forth in bold relief among living institutions is an index of its root in natural law. More clearly does this appear when the necessities which it meets in the individual, the family and civil society are carefully weighed.

As an individual man is a rational animal—a prosy definition and yet it embodies all that the poet says when he sings:

[1] As examples of such traditions may be cited the creation, the fall and the flood which prevailed so extensively in remote ages, and which may be still clearly traced in the traditions and literature of Eastern peoples.

[2] Bouquillon, Theol. Fundamentalis, p. 267.

> How wonderful is man!
> From different natures marvellously mixed,
> Connection exquisite of distant worlds;
> Distinguished link in being's endless chain,
> Midway from nothing to the Deity.

Man, therefore, leads a material and a spiritual life, and it behooves him to develop both according to reason. This implies the use of necessary means, among which rest is indispensable. Man seeks rest in nightly repose, but physiologists and political economists are one in declaring that this is not enough to restore man to his normal condition, and keep him in the highest state of efficiency. And experience itself goes to show that man can give better results when he labors six days and rests on the seventh than when he works every day.[1] The reason is obvious. Man craves variety. He cannot help it; it is the natural law, and hence he is unable to continue in the same course of action without intermission. Physical exhaustion is certain owing to the very delicacy of his bodily tissues. The seventh day rest remedies this tension. By refreshing, enlarging, and enriching the faculties, it neutralizes the baneful effects of the monotony attending labor. It is no mistake, therefore, to say that the efficiency of productive power depends on periodic repose which maintains the physical and mental elasticity of the laborer. And finally, nature is inclined to seek a certain proportion between the time allotted to work and rest,[2] a proportion best obtained by a seventh day rest.

Weekly rest also helps to satisfy the necessities of man's higher nature. For, says Montalembert, there is no religion without worship and no worship without a sabbath. Man is

[1] Proudhon taught that the sabbath had hygiene, domestic, and economic value which nothing else could yield. Chevalier writes: "Let us observe Sunday in the name of hygiene if not in the name of religion." Conf. Wood, Sabbath Essays, p. 28, sq.

[2] The close of the last century saw a practical illustration of the principle; for the revolution ended, France decided to improve her condition by recurring to the decimal system to fix the proportion between the period of rest and labor. The experiment failed, so much so that even whilst the new law was in vogue those who could afford it rested on the seventh as well as on the tenth day. The writings of English and German physiologists shows that they are convinced of the necessity for seventh day rest. German scholars discuss the question at great length. They take their position from a study of the human organism, an analysis of the various organs, their functions, the forces called into play by labor, the effect of exercise and rest upon them, the necessity of weekly rest and the inadequacy of aught else to meet the impending need.

endowed with intellect and will which must be evolved, trained, and perfected. Just as the powers of the body are nourished and strengthened by wholesome food, so the faculties of the soul are sustained and ennobled by directing these towards their proper objects. Man's spiritual nature yearns for what alone can satisfy these powers. "Fecisti nos ad te Domine et irrequietum cor nostrum donec requiescat in te." Material progress, health, wealth, honor, preferments, natural gifts, whether taken separately or collectively, are not the end of man. They are simply means to perfect the higher life within him. To adopt these means to this end requires some respite from worldly cares and avocations. And this lull in the hurry and bustle of material concerns is his when the period of weekly repose comes around.

Moreover, as a moral being, man knows the difference between right and wrong almost instinctively, and thence flows the knowledge of the general principles which are the very basis of the moral order. What avails this moral order, its notions of good and evil, the various corollaries thence arising unless the humane agent in the scheme is enabled thereby to reach the Author and End of all order? All this implies a knowledge of law as well as a conscience trained to reverence law. This is facilitated by seventh day rest, inasmuch as it leads man to commune with his God, and thus begets in him a likeness which in turn raises, refines, and ennobles him. This is one of the blessings of seventh day rest. It is the recurrent assertion of the nobility and worth of our nature as beings that would be "ruined having less than God." It acts as a powerful brake checking the tide of material progress and enabling us to move

> Upward along a Godward way
> Where love and knowledge still increase,
> And clouds and darkness yield to growing day,
> Is more than wealth or fame or peace.

The need of a periodically recurring day of rest is greatly amplified as soon as we cross the threshold of domestic society. The reason is patent; it is rooted in the very nature of that society. The marriage contract, which is the foundation of this society, launches two individuals into a condition gov-

erned by mutual rights and duties. Consequently, while individual necessities do not cease, new relations give rise to needs other than those of the individual man. New rights to be respected, new duties to be discharged, new virtues to be cherished, new vices to be avoided,—such is the logical outcome of this state of things. The harmonious blending of these elements would not fall short of an ideal condition in domestic society ; the real approaches this ideal only in proportion as there is a proper correlation of the various members of the family together with subordination of all to the central authority in the family circle. Natural affection chastened, ennobled, supernaturalized by God's grace is the magnet which must draw the minds and hearts together in conjugal and filial love, and thus seal anew a union, which, begun on earth, should find its consummation in heaven. Failure to realize the necessity of strengthening and sanctifying these vital relations is calculated to defeat the very end and purpose of the matrimonial union.

Not only is matrimony a means to propagate the human species, but also to tenant the earth with "a chosen generation, a kingly nation, a purchased people, a royal priesthood." This is the key to that vast power and immense influence wielded by the family on the world at large. No wonder it has been said that the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that moves the world. If these ideas were engrafted in the heart of family life and unity of action therein centered, the disorders originating in the home circle would be far less common than they are to-day. Religion is the mainspring which is capable of setting the complex machinery of domestic society in motion and keeping it running at the proper speed. This in turn implies not only internal but external worship, which supposes fixed times for its manifestation. Here precisely is where the influence of a seventh-day rest is felt. For it brings with it an opportunity to cultivate a religious spirit in the home, as well as to learn the relations of the family to God and to each other. The members of the family are naturally brought into more easy and intimate communication on that day. Parental rights and duties are more clearly exemplified, the minds and hearts of the children are more easily impressed, the seeds of virtue more readily sown and nurtured. Not only is the source

of morality indicated, not only are moral laws, virtues, vices, rewards and punishments theoretically unfolded, but the fruit of theory is brought forth in its practical effects upon those who gather around the domestic hearth.

The mission of the family, in the economy of Divine Providence, is accomplished only when these results, if not actually achieved, are, at least, the object of well-directed efforts. The family itself is a divine institution, and, as there is ever a certain correlation in the Creator's works, it is not at all unlikely that the sabbath is a means to assist man in realizing the designs of his Maker.

Laws or institutions that exert a wholesome influence on the individual, and in turn on the family, are the harbinger of salutary results in that larger and more complex organization of which the family is but the germ, namely, the state or civil society. Here again morality must be the principle of vitality. The more deeply imbedded, the more widely respected, are the principles of morality in any civil society the more lasting and solid the moral body. And this is entirely in keeping with the nature and end of civil society, whose mission is to promote temporal peace and prosperity as a means to attain happiness everlasting. To achieve this result, civil society is vested with authority whereby its laws are enacted and enforced. This, however, is not due to any arbitrary policy on the part of man himself, but is rather a term to which his own nature leads. For, despite the theories of Hobbes, Rousseau and their followers, man is a social being, destined to live in communication with his fellow-creatures. Consequently, without specifying the form of social regime or designating the organ of authority, God Himself wishes social intercourse and organization amongst men. Naturally social rights and duties are the result of such an institution, so that there is a juridical order as a distinct though not independent element in the moral order. The welfare of this order of things can be successfully attained only by the faithful observance of the laws governing social rights and duties. What will it profit society to be vested with authority to legislate if its decrees are disrespected by the citizens? And what will contribute so largely to foster a profound reverence for this authority as public conscience? But public conscience will be silenced and its healthy influence par-

alyzed unless it be quickened by forces stimulating its proper action, unless it be directed in channels harmonizing with its nature and lofty purpose.

Now, of the avenues leading to this blessed result, none leads more directly and securely than does seventh-day rest, with all that it implies. For once the cares attending labor are laid aside ; man naturally possesses an opportunity to study the relations between his fellow-man and himself. He realizes that, though ultimately depending on God, he is immediately dependent on his fellow-man for much that is necessary to promote his physical, moral, and intellectual well-being. He has, moreover, time to realize that God is the fountain-head of all authority, and consequently that the leaders of every society are only the representatives of God and not self-constituted rulers of the people. This reflection will lead to the all important conclusion that might never makes right, that man has duties towards society as a moral unit and towards his fellow-men as its members, and that his own welfare as well as theirs demands a faithful discharge of his duties. Did civil rulers thus meet with the hearty co-operation of citizens, the peace and prosperity of the body corporate would be a foregone conclusion. Undoubtedly, then, whatever conduces so largely to this end as a sacred day of rest, must be deemed of the highest advantage to social life and its prosperity. For—

> What constitutes a state ?
> Not cities wide and broad armed ports,
> Not starred and spangled courts,
> No, men, high-minded men.

And as a sacred day of rest is a potent factor in the formation of such men, it is the forerunner of a sterling social organization amongst them.

Since, then, sabbath observance is so far-reaching in its results, since its influence in this threefold sphere would lead wise law-givers to decree its institution, since the sum of human nature is ever and always the same, and since what would call the sabbath into existence to-day would have conspired to do so ages ago, it follows that there must have been a sabbath prior to the Sinaitic legislation.

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THE WORLD-COPY—ACCORDING TO ST. THOMAS.[1]

The impulse which prompts us to honor Aquinas, saint and philosopher, springs from the heart of religion. The same spirit that fashions our ideals and seeks their realization is quick to recognize those concrete examples which, in holiness and knowledge, have anticipated our highest conceptions, have made actual the things for which we hope, have turned into living facts what for us are possibilities and aims. To this spirit the Church appeals when she holds up to our view the heroes of sanctity in all ages. To this spirit the Apostle speaks when he tells us: "Be ye followers of me as I also am of Christ." And Christ Himself, clothed in our humanity, is the supreme appeal of divine love and wisdom to this fundamental instinct of our nature, this spirit of imitation.

Religion means more than the dream of perfection or the mere tending towards an abstraction; it means that the reality of our lives shall conform to those other realities which are the lives of just men, and that even our ideals shall be measured upon those patterns as a test of their worth and an incentive to closer imitation. As the supernatural works through the natural, reaches our souls by things that are seen and heard, so its transforming effects are shown forth in the visible actions of the righteous, in those sacramental deeds which are outward signs of inward grace.

The imitation which religion prescribes is not an artifice nor an after-thought borrowed from speculation. It does not impose upon the will and conduct of men a principle foreign to human relations. Models of some sort we are bound to have, and religion selects among many the highest and best. The very fact of our social being means that we are influenced in numberless ways by the behavior of our fellows. By a natural impulse the child copies in action and speech the

[1]An address delivered before the University on the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas.

movements that it sees and the sounds that it hears. By a similar impulse, more fully developed, more carefully controlled, we copy, we follow the suggestions of custom, convention and accepted opinion, we cling to the old, yet are eager to adopt what is new. Wholesome or unwholesome, the contagion of example affects our mental and moral constitution, and the symptom that tells the result is our imitation.

This plastic influence which enters so largely into all our social relations, is exerted through impressions and ideas which analysis shows to be highly complex. Indeed, we may say that an apparently simple act of conscious imitation is the outcome of a development which involves every activity of mind,—sense and imagination, understanding, desire and volition. Let us unravel from this skein a single process,—one that, for the sake of its priority at least, we may regard as an element,—and let us see whether it be not also a sort of imitation. The ideas through which we conceive reality, whether they lead to action or not, are surely the result of experience. We do not bring them, ready-made, into the world; we do not evolve them in hidden recesses of a windowless soul. They are our own activities, but activities in response to an external stimulation from which they derive their specific character and endless variety. In some way they are representations, more than mere symbols, yet less than line-for-line tracings of physical agents. They may or may not be true; but when we say they are true, we mean that they are, in the ideal order, faithful copies of the objective world. To render them more and more faithful, to refine them more thoroughly from the admixture of subjective elements, the shortcomings of sense and the oversights of inference, is the aim of all our keen observation and rigorous tests. Whatever, in a word, we attempt or accomplish by our science is a closer conformity of our thoughts to things, to their qualities and mutual relations, their changes and the laws which determine the time and direction and extent of each change. Nature is the original; our knowledge, the imitation.

But is nature the absolute original? Are we conscious beings the only imitators, or is that which we copy likewise an imitation, wrought upon a higher, invisible pattern?

We may certainly conceive of a time, or rather we are bound to conceive of a time, in the world's history, when no living thing was there adjusting its organic activities to environing relations—when there was neither eye to see nor ear to hear, neither nerve to thrill nor brain to respond. And in such a time, no human mind was there to bring forth an ideal representation, much less a purposeful imitation, of a world that was slowly taking shape. Yet, the world itself was there, with myriad forms and forces, with energies and potencies and orderly change, leading out of a nebulous past to far-off events of life and mind. Was there, in any intelligence, an idea of that which had come to be, and of that which was yet to be? This is the problem that meets us, go back in thought as we will—the horizon that widens a little as we climb to higher heights, but only to hint at something beyond. "The great question," says a modern teacher, "which is writ above all natural history records, is—when put in the phraseology of imitation—what is the final World-Copy, and how did it get itself set?"[1]

For answer, at least for suggestion, we may turn again to the world as it now exists and is the object of our knowledge. Closer scrutiny shows that not everything offered to sense is nature's exclusive doing. There are forms which nature unaided does not produce, though she may far surpass them in beauty. There are modifications of her fairest products, in which she yields somewhat to the conceit of man. Not alone in that highest order of art which we call creative, is this power of interference asserted. Every device which realizes an idea, turning, confining, uniting, dividing matter and its forces, and so compelling them to the service of man, bears witness to his originative power. The very obedience whereby we triumph over elemental energies that in sheer might so far outdo us, would be impossible but for the craft that, within limits, fashions the real to forms that are modelled on thought. Our minds are mirrors for nature; but they are more; they are springs of purpose, and purpose is the setting of the copy that finds its imitation in fact.

Now these two sorts of imitation,—that which is implied in knowing and that which, through knowledge, sets its stamp

[1] Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*. New York, 1897. p. 488.

and direction on the world—are stepping-stones to a broader view. In the first place, we must remember that our minds also are portions of the real world. However they may be superior or antithetic to other things, they, in the last analysis, are things. They belong, after all, to nature; their thoughts and emotions and strivings are processes, no less than the stresses and strains with which matter throbs. Consciousness, proud parent of what we call subject, is itself in the domain of reality, an object. But if this is true, our problem evidently widens out. We have to ask not merely how nature came to be set as a copy for our imitation, but also whether we ourselves, and all nature besides, are not imitations, whether the world as a whole and in each of its parts, be not fashioned, in its beginning and in its enduring, upon some greater original being.

What, we may further inquire, are the limitations of our art, and why should it know any limit? It is not creative in the absolute sense; it adds nothing to the sum of existences; it supposes, it borrows, it appeals to nature in overcoming nature, and for all its cunning contrivance, the universe of matter and force, in amount, is ever the same. We cannot, by taking thought, add the weight of an atom to the bulk of the world, nor the swing of an atom to its motion.

The reason is plain. Whatever is limited in being is thereby limited in action. Its own existence is a loan which cannot be shared or transferred. Its life, if it live, is a tenure which cannot be lengthened at will. Its thought, if perchance it think, is less substantial still—a change, a passing phase, a conditioning of that which, by the very terms of its nature and essence, is already conditioned. Hence, to the boldest of its own fancies, to the very concept of absolute origin, our mind can only say: That, indeed, is possible, but the possibility is not of me; my power to act is even less than my power of thought and desire.

On the other hand, if these limitations are removed, if in some transcendent mind the ultimate reason of all possibility abide—an abiding thought with co-equal power, a power and a thought which is one with the thinker, a thinker who possesses, or, rather who is, the fullness of being,—this mind is

the original that we seek, the source of all existence, the prototype for the world's imitation. Now such, says St. Thomas,[1] is the mind of God.

"Divine intellect," "divine intelligence and will," are expressions which reflect, in a measure, the knowledge we have of ourselves. They fall short—how far, we cannot say—of the sovereign Reality; and this acknowledgment alone prevents them from becoming radically untrue. And yet, they are our highest concepts—imperfect, not because they rest on nothing, not because our mind, their origin and hither term, is unreal, but because they fail to span the abyss—they point to the Infinite, and in pointing they shrink, leaving a new marvel to thought.

Still, thought is not altogether lost nor its progress entirely checked. Forever beyond our comprehension as the Infinite must be, this much at least is manifest: the only adequate object of God's contemplation is God Himself. His being alone meets, with boundless reality, the boundless sweep and insight of His mind. All else that is or may be is, to His intellect, as a mote in the sunbeam to the undivided splendor of the sun. From the finite He cannot receive the faintest suggestion, the slightest possibility of thought. To the finite He cannot owe the debt that the object exacts from our limited minds. God, understanding Himself, is His own original—or rather, let us say, His understanding, identical with His being, is the original, the origin of all origins.

Nevertheless, it is clear that God, in some way, must know things other than Himself. Not in vague outlines but in perfect definition, not simply in totality but down to its finest details, the universe must be present to His mind. Every item of the material world, every pulsation of its energies, is seen and foreseen by Him. The very depths of our minds, so dimly discerned by ourselves, are transparent to His knowledge, which reaches the innermost core of our being, yea, even to the division of the soul and the spirit.

Here, then, we seem to have barred our path with a problem, perhaps with a contradiction. On the one hand we have said that God's intellect does not draw its object from without,

[1] *Summa Theol.* I, xv; *Cont. Gent.* I, 29, 54, and II, 45; *De Veritate*, III.

does not even look abroad; on the other, we are compelled to affirm that He has knowledge, infinitely perfect comprehension of all things. Both truths are the teaching of St. Thomas, and it is in that teaching also that we shall seek their reconciliation.

God, says the Angelic Doctor, in the very act and moment of knowing Himself, knows everything else. In His own being He beholds whatever is actual or possible, great or small, spirit or matter, perfection or imperfection, shadow or substance or form. He beholds them, not by reflections caught from an outer existence or cast upon His mind by other reality, but as so many possible reflections of which He is the source. In a word, God knowing His own being, knows it both as absolutely His and as an original which may be imitated, a copy eternally set. He does not discover the finite, and say: behold my image and likeness; but, contemplating Himself, he says, before time or creation began: there may be and shall be an image and likeness of Me.

Imitability, an attribute of the divine essence, declares itself in divine ideas. The Infinite is one, the finite is manifold, and the ideas upon which the finite is shaped must be many. For the truth that His being is imitable is likewise the knowledge that no finite imitation can be perfect. To express even our ideas we must multiply words, and our words are at best poor counterfeits of thought. It is the defect of our language, not the transcendent character of our ideas, that so often they fail of expression or falter. With God it is different. The same absolute excellence that makes His being imitable is also the bar to an adequate imitation. The copy is perfect and its setting; in the copying comes imperfection, and with it the more and the less.

Out of these two concepts—imitation and imperfection—springs a third. The shortcomings of the finite may be in a measure offset and made up; where equality perforce is lacking, variety may bring compensation. Thus, instead of a vast monotony, creation will exhibit a manifold of existences, rank upon rank of quality, grade after grade of activity, interaction of forces, transformation unceasing, evolution and system and

plan. The very failure of the finite is wrought to a new success; out of imperfect imitation emerges the perfection of order.

Each individual thing holds its place in the scale of being by a positive determination and a negative. Whatever it contains of reality, of property, of function or efficiency, is positive, and is therefore, in its degree, the semblance of God. But, inasmuch as it is wanting in the fulness of being and limited in the range of its powers, its value is marked by a negative sign. This co-ordination, with endless varying proportions, is present to the mind of God. He sees, in the multitude of possible imitations, the exact locus of each and its worth with respect to Himself. The lowest elements of the world are made in His likeness, but the likeness goes not beyond existence and action. Higher up in the curve, life appears—an inward abiding energy like His own—but, in its lower forms, unconscious. Consciousness itself, a distant reflection of His knowledge, lacks, in the realm of mere sentient beings, the crowning value of intelligence and will. Human reason, closer approximation still to the original Mind, is circumscribed by organic conditions and fettered in the bonds of sense. Throughout the universe, imitation and limitation are variables—the one is the function of the other. But as forethought by God, they are moments, the balancing of which constitutes the divine idea of each possible creature, the prototype of its nature and fitness.

We come then at length, in view of that which we set out to find. What, we had asked, is the final World-Copy? And the answer, writ large by the genius of St. Thomas, is this: God's being, understood by His intellect, not as absolute, but with the connotation of the countless proportions which other things, in their several degrees of likeness and unlikeness, bear to Him. And the setting of this copy is God's eternal self-thinking. The expression of this thought is the world, including ourselves; and if no single thing in the world is the adequate utterance of God, the multitude of things is His magnificent diction, with phrase of variety and lordly period of purpose, and the flowing grace of order—a metaphor of the Infinite.

From this plane of speculation to which Aquinas has led us, we may look upon imitation as an ultimate fact in the constitution of the universe. It is the supreme law by which the world is related to God. It is a concept which foreshadows, if it does not openly declare, the fundamental unity to which the real is bound. But may it not be that this whole fact and process of imitation is modelled upon something higher? Creation is an imperfect reflection of God; is there not a perfect and in all ways adequate expression of His being?

The teaching of faith is our answer, and this too we may interpret in terms of imitation. There is one Idea which is truly and fully the meaning of God. Thinking Himself eternally, He eternally begets a concept which is His perfect image, nay more, which is, in the plenitude of deity, the self-same with Him. "*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*" In this primordial generation there is no short-coming, no inequality. Imitation is identity of nature; the Word, like its origin, infinite. Thus remotely, at least, so far as the weakness of our vision and our faltering language permit, we may discern the source and the ground of all imitation and essay an ultimate formula. The imitation whereby the finite is brought into being has for its exemplar, immeasurably transcendent, the intellectual begetting in God of that Word which is the figure of His substance.

Since, again, the Word of God is the absolutely perfect expression of His intellect, it must contain the whole thought of God. Both the nature of God Himself and the whole range of His ideas must enter into this supreme concept. All those various proportions and relations by which the finite is determined, are pronounced in and through the only-begotten Word. This, therefore, the center of all prototypes, is pre-eminently the archetype and exemplar. "*All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing.*"

Thus we are led to recognize in imitation a universal principle upon which various orders and spheres of reality are founded. It links the subjective and the objective in our thought; it binds the whole creation harmoniously to God;

in God Himself, it is the mode of eternal activity, the source and the motive to which the universe of creatures owes its being.

There remain to be pointed out certain consequences of this teaching, in the light of which the more familiar forms of imitation take on a deeper significance. When it is said that our knowledge of the world is an imitation of reality, the saying is true. But the whole truth appears when we remember that the real world itself is an imitation. For then it is manifest that to think correctly of nature is to rethink, as best we may, the thought of God. And all our questioning and scrutiny is, in the final interpretation, an effort to make our ideas correspond more thoroughly with the original ideas of His mind. Herein lies the dignity of science, its noblest aim and its surest hope of advance. Hence, conversely, arises its difficulty. For though the objects of the outer world are, in their measure, true to their pattern, and though our minds, as real beings, are likewise and of necessity true, the conformity of thought and things is not inevitably established. The possibility of error is always there, not as a warning to desist from the search, but rather as a spur to keener surmise and further investigation.

Is there a term to this quest, or is humanity destined to approximate forever though never fully attaining? We look back upon the development of science with pity or surprise at conceptions once cherished, now almost forgotten,—at the wreckage of theories and conjectures that for a day have startled the world or have thrived for a whole generation. We have reason to believe that those who come after us will write us down in their histories as earnest, but no less short-sighted. Where, then, is the final test, the supreme criterion which the minds of all men will accept, and in accepting lay hold on the truth? Only, we may say, in the presence of the final World-Copy, when the medium of imitation gives way to the original, which is God. For then the comparison will be, not between rival opinions or views, nor yet between thought and created things, but directly between our concepts and the eternal idea. Then, too, shall we discern in retrospect the genuine worth of those who, like Aquinas, by splendid synthetic grasp have achieved the unification of knowledge, and

of those as well who, in patience and labor, have wrested from nature her secrets. And doubtless we shall then realize that in spite of error and misunderstanding, through all vicissitudes of theory and system, human science has grown, now quickly now slowly, toward a better imitation of its pattern.

To such an issue, imitation, as an all-pervading principle, seems directed. For imitation, in any degree, involves purpose, and in the highest degree it involves such attainment of that purpose as may, in the nature of things, be possible. If God has set His image upon creation, He must intend thereby to manifest Himself; and the natural consequence of such manifestation is the attraction to Himself of intelligent beings who are able to read His meaning and free to follow its lesson. In the multiplicity, variety and orderly course of the world, His wisdom finds a remedy for imperfect imitation. But the remedy itself occasions more serious defect if the cravings which it awakens are vain, if the wisdom that bids us to copy forbids us a nearer vision of the Original.

It is here, however, as reason begins to waver, that Religion offers its hand. A greater thing, says Christian Faith, has come to pass than any revelation that human intelligence could conceive or the heart of man desire. Not only has the divine Original been shown to a created mind, it has united such a mind to Itself in the unity of Person. The Word of God has drawn up into its subsistence our human nature, which thus becomes its organ and instrument. The Incarnation, merging the intellect of man in the individuality of Godhead, completes the cycle of imitation.

A union so intimate and perfect between the infinite Original and the finite created copy, exists in no other being; there is no second Incarnate Word. But the Incarnation itself, as an accomplished fact in God's dealings with the human mind, is a guarantee that, according to the measure of our limited capacity, we also are destined to a clearer vision and a deeper insight, when "we all beholding the glory of the Lord with open face, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord" (II Cor., III, 18).

EDWARD A. PACE.

SOME WORDS ABOUT CHAUCER.

Everything concerning the most cheerful, most natural, and most sympathetic of all English poets, Chaucer, has come to be of interest. Whether his name had originally anything to do with shoes or not, or whether it was derived from some small office about the court will perhaps soon be decided by Mr. Atkinson; but there is no question that, even in this apparently unimportant matter of philology, the public testifies more than usual concern. The interest in Chaucer is no doubt due to his incomparable charm as a story-teller, the human quality in his poems, and the increase of respect for the English language among English-speaking people.

Chaucer has been examined by the analysts of speech from every point of view, and what the English have left undone the Germans have minutely completed; but there is one thing which most interpreters of Chaucer have failed to grasp, and that is the impossibility of judging the standards of the fourteenth century by those of the nineteenth. As an axiom they are willing to admit that it is illogical to judge the ethical point of view of one age considered from the changed attitude of another. Every expositor of literary history, from Dryden to Lounsbury, from Voltaire to Taine, admits this; but only in the abstract. When it comes to application, both knowledge and intuition seem to fail. This is especially true of nearly all writers who look at history either through the telescope supplied by traditional Protestantism or the microscope of "modernity," and more especially true of even the cleverest interpreters of Chaucer, of Montaigne, of Pascal, of even Sir Thomas More.

In the case of these great men, it is, as a rule, due not to prejudice, but to that incapacity for projection which no mind but the synthetically imaginative possesses and to the hallucination which leads so many writers to believe that the Catholic in all ages is a slave to some hidden power, and that his spir-

itual life,—of which every detail is supposed to be dogmatic,—is like a great picture, without shadow, softness, or perspective. In Mr. Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers," the strictures of Sir Thomas More on the superstition of a certain friar are used to show that he was travelling fast towards Lutheranism. "There was at Coventry a Franciscan of the unreformed sort," Sir Thomas More writes; "this man preached in the city, the suburbs of the neighborhood, and the village about, that whosoever should say daily the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin could never be lost. The people listened greedily to this easy way of getting to heaven. The pastor there, an excellent and learned man, though he thought the saying very foolish, said nothing for a time, thinking that no harm could come from it, since the people would become more devout to God from greater devotion to the Blessed Virgin. But at last he found his flock infected with such a disease that the very worst were especially devoted to the rosary for no other reason than that they promised themselves impunity in everything; for how could they doubt of heaven, when it was promised to them with such assurance by so good a man, a friar direct from Heaven?"

This letter[1] was written in 1519, and Sir Thomas goes on to tell of his meeting with the friar, and to repeat his argument against him:

"For, though you may easily find a king ready to pardon something in an enemy at the prayers of his mother, yet there is nowhere one so great a fool as to promulgate a law by which to encourage the audacity of his subjects against himself, by a promise of impunity to traitors, on condition of their paying a certain homage to his mother. Much was said on both sides, but I only succeeded in getting laughed at, while he was extolled."

Sir Thomas adds that he does not intend to impute crime to any body of religious, "since the same ground produces herbs both wholesome and poisonous; nor do I wish to find fault with those who salute Our Lady, than which nothing can be more beneficial; but because some trust so much in their devotions that they draw from them boldness to sin. May I be held a liar if there are not religious in certain places

[1] Life of Sir Thomas More. By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, U. S. A.

who observe silence so obstinately that at no price could you get them to whisper in their corridors; but, draw them one foot outside, and they will not hesitate to storm at whoever offends them. There are some who would fear lest the devil should carry them off alive if they made any change in their dress, and who have no fear of heaping up money, of opposing and deposing their abbot. Are there not many who, if they omitted a verse of their office, would think it a crime to be expiated with many tears, and who have not the least scruple to take part in caluminous gossip longer than their longest prayers."

No man, familiar with Catholic doctrine and practice, will imagine that Sir Thomas showed a tendency towards the opinions of Luther because of these words or of several similar passages in his defence of his friend Erasmus. And no man, knowing the freedom of Faith, will set down Geoffrey Chaucer either as a Wickliffite or an agnostic because he jests at many things which ought to have an odor of sanctity. One would fancy that authors who assume to write with scientific accuracy might analyze the effects of the teachings of the Catholic Church upon the minds of the people,—and, first, examine as a preparation for this the distinction which the Church makes between the essential and the non-essential. As it is, the doctrines of the Church and the effect of these doctrines on the minds that accept them are the most important, but least understood of all things in modern history.

Sir Thomas More's sympathy was with the parish priest at Coventry, in the sixteenth century; Geoffrey Chaucer's was with the parish priest in general, in the fourteenth century; but even the mistaken "unreformed" friar would not have accused the former of heresy for that only, nor would the Wickliffite have claimed Chaucer as a follower because of his jokes,—coarse to our taste, but merely virile fun from his point of view,—at the expense of the friar;—

> "A wanton and a merry,
> A limiter, a full solemné man."

No educated man now believes that Chaucer was a leader in that Wickliffite revolt which preceded the breaking away

of England from union with Rome. And few men, who have examined the evidence, hold that he was even a follower of Wickliffe. As to Professor Lounsbury's[1] elaborate *apologia* for the scepticism of Chaucer, it proves nothing to the man who can read Chaucer with a subtler understanding. Lovers of the poet are under deep obligation to Professor Lounsbury. To the present time there has been no better book on Chaucer; and its author has further added to his service by putting the testimony as to Chaucer's scepticism at its very strongest point. And this testimony, at its strongest point, is the weakest thing in the book.

As a rule, there is not very much gained by trying to settle the personal relations of any human being to God. The real question lies between God and the soul. And the controversies as to whether Shakespere was a practical Catholic or not, or whether Wordsworth had belief in the Immaculate Conception, or whether Rossetti's splendid "Ave" brought him the grace of conversion, seem to be, as Charles Reade puts it, "like the cooking of stale cabbage over farthing candles." It is quite as inutile, and often as malodorous. Beside the illumination of God's mercy, our light is but as a farthing candle. The essence of the poet must be left finally to his Creator. But [illegible] the standard of human law has been absolute sanctity. The keynote of this their theme is usually sounded by them with the utmost reserve and delicacy, especially by Shakespere, but it is there; and every poet—the natural faculties of the poet being pre-supposed—will be great in proportion to the strictness with which, in his moral ideal he follows the counsels of perfection."[2] This is the standard by which the poet must be judged; and judged by their standard, Chaucer is a poet of a very high type. But we logically look into the works of a poet, to form an ultimate opinion, not into his life, on which no man,—not even a judge and jury, with crowds of expert witnesses—can give the final verdict.

[1] Studies in Chaucer, by Thomas R. Lounsbury, Professor of English in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University. New York. Harper & Brothers. Vol. III, p. 499.

[2] Religio Poetae: Coventry Patmore. London: George Bell & Sons; p. 84.

It was natural that the Puritans should claim the first of English poets; it seemed to strengthen their case to have as the precursor of their revolt one of the keenest intellects of the fourteenth century,—a learned man, a sane-minded man, a man whom all England esteemed. It was illogical, however, since the whole spirit and expression of Geoffrey Chaucer,—and the spirit and expression with him is one,—denies all the fundamentals in which the Puritans prided themselves. The gaiety of heart, the love of the natural, the tolerance for the ailties of humanity, the abounding charity, the delight in the world as a place of sunshine, and, if not the best of all possible worlds, a very good one,—were antagonistic to every tenet of Puritanism. And these qualities are characteristic of Chaucer. He leaves the great questions to be answered by God. Even when the Pagan Arcite dies, Chaucer says,—

> "His spirit changed house, and wente there,
> As I came never, I can not tellen where,
> Therefore I stent[1] I am no divinister,
> Of soules find I not in this register,
> Ne me list[2] not opinions to tell
> Of them, though that they writen where[3] they dwell.
> Arcite is cold, then Mars his soule gie[4]

On these lines Professor Lounsbury puts the question: "Can modern agnosticism point to a denial more emphatic than that made in the fourteenth century of the belief that there exists for us any assurance of the life that is lived beyond the grave?" To which we might reply: Could one believe that modern agnosticism should twist such a passage in favor of itself, if human inconsistency had not already gone as far by making the wife of Bath a sort of Protestant Madonna? Theseus, in his discourse, near the end of "The Knight's Tale," asks:

> "Why grutchen we? Why have we heaviness,
> That good Arcite, of chivalry the flow'r,
> Departed is with duty and honour,
> Out of this foule prison of this life.
> Why grutchen here his cousin and his wife
> Of his welfare, that loven him so well?
> Can he them thank? nay, God wot, never a deal.
> That both his soul and they themselves offend,
> And yet they mow[5] their lustes[6] not amend."

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[1]Stop. [2]Is not my pleasure. [3]Where. [4]Gie—Guide.
[5]Can. [6]Feelings.

Theseus is a Pagan Greek, but his funeral sermon, paraphrased, is not unknown in pulpits which would shake with horror at the suspicion of agnosticism.

All the world loves a poet; and all the world loves to seek him in his work, to find the man whose song delights and uplifts. It sometimes happens that if we chase the meadow lark we miss the song, and too much seeking for the man causes us to lose some of the glamour of the bard. But in his work and only in his work should we seek him;—for life-histories, the surface-stories of existence,—are like the crowing of the cock to Oberon and Puck,—the signal of chill and grayness and the vanishing of fantasy.

Since the test of the poet is his allegiance, at his best, to high beauty and truth, and he should be valued "in proportion to the strictness with which, in his moral ideal, he follows the counsels of perfection," it is a duty to examine the insinuations which presume that he cannot bear this test.

To us the Church is the spouse of the highest Truth and Beauty. If, therefore, Chaucer had contemned her, we should feel that he had proved himself unworthy of our full regard. If we were obliged to take him as we take Spenser, with regret that he should be forced to be self-consciously Protestant, we would lose the full enjoyment of that *naïveté* which distinguishes him among the other great poets. The Protestantism,—political and politic as it is,—of Spenser is artificial and self-conscious. When he turns Our Lady's face into "a lady's face" in the blazon of a knight's armor, we find that all the magnificence of his crimson vert and azure tapestry will not atone for it. And when Elizabeth is enamelled with allegorical paste, we see at once how impossible Protestantism is from the æsthetic point of view. The Huguenots and the Covenanters may be made to seem heroic by accenting their human qualities, the attributes they have in common with all men of strong will that resist superior force; but their tenets offer no chance for careless gaiety or joy in life.

The more Puritanical Reformers based their claims to Chaucer on works attributed to him which were not his. Charles Cowden Clarke tells us that "the venerable heretic, John Fox, after alluding to the industry of the Popish clergy

in quenching and stamping into the earth those treatises which tended to overthrow the fabric of their hierarchy, considers the presentation of the above works of our poet in the light of an especial providence." The "above" works were "Jack Upland," "The Plowman's Tale," and "The Testament of Love," which[1] are not Chaucer's,—so that, even if "The Romance of the Rose" be admitted, John Fox's "special Providence" disappears.

No doubt it would be a pleasant thing, if we could show that Geoffrey Chaucer had spent his life in arguing against the Lollards and that he was a determined enemy of Wickliffe; but, unless we invent certain works for him after the manner of Chatterton, and a "special Providence" after the manner of John Fox, we must be content with the pleasanter thing of accepting him only as a poet and the most intuitive and sympathetic delineator of life the English world of letters possesses, next to Shakspere. On the other hand, those persons who like to think of him as a heretic, must give up their case, since, on examination we find that he was little either of a polemist or a politician. He occupied positions of trust and filled them well, but we do not discern that he pandered to any political party in order to enjoy either his positions or his pensions. If he did, there is no evidence of it in his works, or in any other written record yet discovered. The prose "Parson's Tale" is essentially sound in doctrine, whether it be entirely the composition of Chaucer or not. It seems to have been added to make amends for those "endytinges of vanities" which have so much endeared him to the world, but which he retracts towards the end of his life in a manner which is anything but sceptical. At the same time, it must be admitted that, as literature, neither the "Parson's Tale" nor the "Retraccion" has any interest whatever. The "Parson's Tale" may be a good sermon, from the point of view of moral theology on the seven deadly sins and the "Retraccion" is the expression of a devout mind which fears the effect of scandal and no doubt regrets the "gyltes" for which it is so contrite. And the "Reeve's" and "Miller's Tale" ought indeed to be followed by some beating of the breast.[1]

[1] See Lounsbury, Vol II, p. 4.

If the advocates for Chaucer's "Lollardism" will drop their contention and the pleaders for his scepticism admit that a man may be averse to superstition and yet be a good Catholic, I, for my part, am quite willing to let Chaucer be judged as a poet, not as an apostle or preacher of any sort. It would give me a great pang to have to regard Chaucer as a Wickliffite, but it would be even more painful if all his works had been as unexceptionable and dull as the "Parson's Tale," which is utterly lacking in poetical value, and yet which might have been preached by the best of regulars or seculars. As a political writer, on either side, he would have ceased to be poetical. Let us have him as he is,—a son of the Church, amused rather than shocked by laxities in discipline; not loth to point them out, inclined to take part against the friars and to use the stock jokes on his side; broad in his speech, not vexed by modern ideas of purity, given to a jesting license, but never intrinsically licentious. He called a spade a spade; and, if the spade was muddy, he made no attempt to pretend that it was clean.

Nobody, except a purblind special pleader here and there, has ever denied that Sir Thomas More,—not so long ago pronounced blessed,—was a most devout Catholic. And yet he did not hesitate to denounce superstition when he thought he saw it or to find fault with abuses similar to some of them which Chaucer rather cheerfully chronicles. Not that Chaucer ever apologizes for evil or blurs the line that divides right from wrong. He is too safe in faith and the morality that flows from faith for that; he is so safe, in fact, that he can afford to take liberties. More would have been the first to admit that Erasmus' "Praise of Folly," which seemed innocuous when men were united in the essentials of belief, had become dangerous when a thousand attacks on these essentials were made; and, in 1532, More did admit this in a letter to Erasmus. Similarly Chaucer must be judged in the light of his times. The reader who would condemn his poems because of his jests at abuses, which certainly did exist, but which were no more general than that all Irishmen have pug noses or that all mothers-in-law are tyrants, is as narrow-minded as that other, who, because Chaucer jeered at the friars and smiled at

the worldly caprices of the charming Lady Abbess, holds that he was as iconoclastic as Wickliffe, and denied the spiritual power of the Church. The stock Irishman and the stock mother-in-law of the "comic" papers hold to-day the place which the gluttonous friar, the avaricious monk, and the betrayed husband have in the vulgar annals of the fourteenth century. If Chaucer lived to-day,—if Walter Savage Landor[1] or Marion Crawford[2] were real magicians and could have brought him into our century,—he would no doubt be astonished to find himself assumed by pious Catholics as a defender of the Church, claimed by the Protestant as a splendid heretic and by the agnostic as a sceptic. Alive, he would find it as hard to understand the nineteenth century point of view as we find it to tolerate a century which outraged many of those conventionalities that we have accepted as principles. A satirical turn of mind, like a renown for repartee, may carry a man too far. But because Chaucer gave his characters every opportunity for laughing at false relics, it does not follow that he had no reverence for the true. England, as he pictures it, with all its merriment,—not always an ideal or innocent merriment, by any means,—was evidently in training for the woe to come in the time of Henry VIII. The evil lay in him who purveyed falsehood and traded in the perfumes of sanctity, not in him whose wit flashed upon such treachery. Chaucer evidently felt that the human side of the Church was fair material for him; but no writer has ever shown a finer conception of the spiritual side of our priesthood than he, in the famous description of the parish priest, in the prologue to the "Canterbury Tales":

"A better priest, I trowe, that nowhere noon is."[3]

"The Wife of Bath's Tale" is held up as one of the poet's attacks on what some commentators seem to believe to be a dogma of the Church,—the celibacy of the clergy. Professor Lounsbury says:—"There can be no question as to the poet's position in this matter.[4] His contempt for the doctrine, and the reasons advanced in its favor, is scarcely ever disguised. The

[1] Imaginary Conversations. [2] With the Immortals.
[3] Skeat: Complete Edition. Macmillan.
[4] Studies in Chaucer, Vol. II, p. 525.

confounding of celibacy with chastity excites his scorn. It is hardly necessary to observe that at such a period the expression of sentiments of this kind is not made the ostensible, or even prominent, motive for producing the work. Nor would these sentiments be put forth by Chaucer in his own person or in that of any serious character. It was not accident that led to the selection of the speaker. It was no fondness for coarseness for coarseness' sake that dictated the tone which is frequently found in the poem. It is in the mouth of one like the sensual, shrewd, and worldly wife of Bath, who boasts that she has already had five husbands, and is ready to welcome the sixth whenever he presents himself that an attack upon celibacy could be safely placed."

Now the plain-spoken wife of Bath is not a person whom one would like to meet in a modern drawing-room, at an afternoon tea, unless one was sure that she were unaccompanied by an interpreter of Middle English; for she is certainly very frank, but her talk is much less intrinsically coarse than a great deal of modern after-dinner conversation, founded on many French and some English novels. It is surprising that Professor Lounsbury should tell us that Chaucer did not make her "coarse" for the sake of "coarseness." He might just as well apologize for St. James or St. Augustine or St. Chrysostom, whose utterances, if made in a pulpit to-day, to any well-dressed congregation within the bounds of the English speech, would be received with amazement. "If we go back," says Coventry Patmore, "to those first ages of Christianity—which modern good people who know nothing about them, regard with such reverence—we shall find that the greatest and purest of the 'Fathers of the Church' were in the practice of addressing their flocks with an outspokenness which is not surpassed even by the ancient expounders of the Eleusinian and Bacchic mysteries, or, for that matter, by the Bible itself.[1] St. Augustine, for example, in the *City of God* and elsewhere, says things fit to throw decent people into convulsions; and nowhere, in ancient Christian writings, do we find ignorance regarded as even a part, much less the whole of innocence." The wife of Bath was of her time; Chaucer did not make her; she

[1] Religio Poetæ, p. 102.

existed, and he drew her as she was, with a humor, a knowledge of character, and a delight in his picture which distinguishes him as an artist. In Chaucer's eyes she was a very respectable woman; she had a "past" and a bad temper; the first, Chaucer, like a gentleman, treats delicately; the second, he illustrates,—

[1] "In all the parish, wife ne there was none,
That to the off'ring before her shouldè gone,
And, if there did, certain so wroth was she
That she was out of allè charity.
Her coverchiefs weren full fine of ground;
I durstè swear they weigheden a pound
That on the Sunday were upon her head:
Her hosen weren of fine scarlet red,
Full strait y tied and shoes full moist and new;
Bold was her face, and fair and red of hew."

She had made pilgrimages; she knew the world; and, in the "Prologue" [2] to her story, she remarks:

"Experience, though noon auctoritee
Were in this world, were right y-nough to me,
To speak of wo that is in mariage;
For, lordinges, since I twelf yeer was of age,
Thonked be God that is eterne on lyve,
Husbands at churchè-dore I have had five;
For I so oftè have y-wedded be,
And alle were worthy men in hir degree."

She has heard the Scriptures preached, and a scruple—very slight—has been raised by the assertion,

"That sith Crist ne wentè never but onis
To wedding in the Cane of Galilee,
That by the same ensample taught he me
That I ne sholdè wedded be but once."

She admits, not with contempt, as Professor Lounsbury suggests, but with entire simplicity, that—

——a lord in his household,
He hath nat every vessel al of gold;
Somme been of tree, and doon hir lord servyse,
God clepeth folk to Him in sondry wyse,
And everich hath of God a propre yiftè,
Som this, som that—as Him lyketh shifte.
Virginitee is great perfeccioun,
And continence eek with devocioun."

[1] Riches of Chaucer: Charles Cowden Clarke (Expurgated edition).
[2] Skeat.

If Chaucer, in the second half of the thirteenth century, had taken upon himself the mission of combating St. Paul, St. Jerome, and the general voice of the Church on this counsel of perfection, the "Wife of Bath's Tale" might have been of greater comfort to Henry VIII., who, in his own showing, had certain scruples, too; but it would not be the recital of a man of genius, who was consequently a man of insight,—of a story-teller who drew life and character as he saw it, with humor and pathos. And these, joined with moral perception, make that quality which, in Montaigne and Thackeray, some call "cynicism."

A man, bred in Protestantism, cannot, unless he has almost miraculous perception, understand the point of view of the Catholic of the fourteenth century; and, I admit, it is very difficult for a Catholic, tinged with the false asceticism of Protestantism,—as we all are, more or less,—to condone that old-time plain-speaking which goes to the root of things without concealment. And yet Chaucer had a certain reserve and modesty by which moderns might profit. His persons accept the eternal verities; there is no question of the spiritual authority of the Church, no doubt as to the Trinity; the Godhead of Christ and His attributes are lovingly spoken of,—there are no sneers at the Sacrament of Penance and the Eucharist. In Chaucer's time, or even in Sir Thomas More's, if a man could not distinguish the precious wine of God from the earthern vessel that held it, he was accounted a fool. This distinction was often made with a vengeance. Whether it was expedient or not is not now the question. Whether the earthen vessel could be roughly touched without injury to the treasure it held, is another question. The Continental and English peoples thought it could,—the Irish were of a different opinion or of a different temperament.

The "merry words of the host to the monk" in the "Monk's Prologue" are quoted frequently in support of Chaucer's "reforming" proclivities. This wise, humorous, keen and sympathetic observer of humanity, it is said, was ahead of his time; he foresaw that, if the best men entered the Church and bound themselves to celibacy, the English race, indeed all the races of the earth, must dwindle into feeble folk. It was not

only the lessening of the physique he feared, but the lessening of the intellect of the future. If the Church,—the pestilant cormorant of John Fox and Bunyon,—seized the most comely, the wisest, surely the heretics were benefactors of the world, when they declared that all vows of celibacy were cursed of God! It is this view that many serious-minded persons, determined to make the poet polemical, have read into the "Monk's Prologue." The "tale of Melibee" is finished, and the host, whose language is "plain," cries out that he wishes he had a patient wife.

> "I had lever than a barel of ale
> That goode lief my wyf hadde herd this tale!
> For she nis nothing of swich pacience
> As was this Melibeus wfe Prudence."

According to his further account, the lady of his thoughts is a rather difficult person. It becomes evident that, supposing the monasteries have assumed nearly all the strong-limbed and strong-minded men, the convents have not succeeded in securing all the valiant women. If, for instance, as the host proclaims, a neighbor jostles his wife at church or does not salute her, she

> ——"cryeth false coward, wreek thy wyf.
> By *corpus bones!* I wol have thy knyf,
> And thou shalt have my distaff and go spinne!
> Fro day to night right thus she wol beginne;—
> 'Allas,' she saith, 'that ever I was shape,
> To wed a milksop or a coward ape,
> That will be overlad with every wight.
> Though darst not stonden by thy wyves right!"

The host prophesies that he will be forced to murder by this belligerent wife of his, and then turns to the monk, audibly regretting that such a fine man of religion is not married. After his description of the woes of married life, there is an ironical humor in this regret which the serious-minded polemist can not see. It is logical enough that, reflecting on the masterful strength of the lady hostess, he sighs to consider the brawn and sinew of the monk, who might have withstood her, "so big in armes." It is not logical, under the circumstances, that he should commend marriage to the guest, "but," he says:—

—and I were pope
That only thou but every mighty man,
Thogh he were shorn ful hye upon the pan
Should have a wyf; for all the world is lorn
Religioun hath take up al the corn
Oftreding, and we borel men ben shrimpes!
Of feble trees their comen wretched imps.'"

The host here makes a compliment perhaps unconsciously to the strictness with which the monks kept their vows,—a compliment which is generally overlooked by interpreters who would turn the lark-like poems of Chaucer into "problem" essays. The host suddenly drops into a tone of banter quite in his own manner, for which he apologizes, as well he might,—

"But be not wrooth, my Lord, for that I pleye;
Ful oft in game a sooth I have herd seye.
'This worthy monk took al in pacience.'

This monk, "worthy," as Chaucer names him, was a "manly man," given to hunting and not to study; not a recluse or a hard worker, or a strict follower of the rule of St. Benedict, but a believer in the newer and more worldly ways, in which Chaucer seems to sympathize with him. He was a "fair prelate," splendid in the adornments of himself and his hounds, his fur-brimmed sleeves and his berry-brown palfrey, his well-colored face and his curious gold pin give Chaucer as much pleasure as the tints in a cardinal's robe give Vibert or the rain drops on a soldier's helmet, Detaille. There is a place for this dignified and splendid monk in the pleasant world as for the hard-working parson and the clerk of Oxenford. Even the friar, who would have been declared accursed by St. Francis d'Assisi, finds ironical tolerance with Chaucer,

"And in his harping, when that he had sung,
His eyen twinkled in his head aright
As do the starres on a frosty night."

He makes a picture; he will tell his story in the soft April weather, by the Thames. It is no time or place for denunciation,—God will give every man his desert in good time. And Geoffrey Chaucer is not Hamlet, born to set the world right.

Let us take him as he was, and let us not ask that he be other than he was. He was not Dante, eagle-like, but bitter and brooding. He did not hate both the sin and the sinner,

after the manner of the great Florentine. He did not penetrate to Hell or soar to Heaven. Earth,—the daisied earth, where the little birds sang, and gay voices joined with them,—was beloved of him. Nothing natural was alien to him; he was a humanist, but not a Hedonist,—in love with life, but not an Epicurean. That beneath him was the sure rock of eternal truth he never seems to have doubted. Safe and sure, like Sir Thomas More, his later brother, with whose humor he had so much in common, he could let his fancy play with no thought of danger. His geniality, his acuteness in knowledge of the foibles of humanity, his optimism, his power of picturing, his grace and immortal freshness make him beloved of the world. He borrowed his stories as Shakspere did; he was the first to English them, and they are his, whether Dante or Petrarch or Boccaccio or old folks by the fire told them before or not. On the verdant ground of the spring time of a nation he planted a garden of perennial beauty. On the gray walls of a gloomy palace,—half-Saxon mead hall, half-feudal castle,—he hung a tapestry, filled with the crimson of love and the azure of hope. He waved his wand, and henceforth England was called "merrie." His gaiety had the *naïveté* of a child,—of a child who does not doubt and who does not fear. It came from a heart that knew the beauty of Truth, All those high human qualities, which Christianity illuminates but does not create, were beloved of him. As in the cathedral carvings of his time, we find in his work strange things which modern taste, more delicate, rejects. Like all men of genius, he was of his time, but not of the worst of it. That he hated the faith that conserved beauty in England we may as soon believe as that Shakspere would have torn the door from the tabernacle of his own church at Stratford, or blotted the "requiescat" from a neighbor's tomb. Polemist he was not; crusader he was not; but what he was, in heart, we can guess from his prayer—

> "Glorious mayde and moder, which that never[1]
> Were bitter, neither in erthe nor in see,
> But ful of swetnesse and of mercy ever,
> Help that my fader be not wroth with me."

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

[1] A. B. C. Skeat.

THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY—II.

X.

When Alexander, after many hardships, had crossed the Libyan desert and reached the oracle of Ammon, his curiosity went no farther than his own future and the measure of vengeance due to the murderers of his father, Philip. Whereupon old Maximus of Tyre observes that it was a pity he did not inquire about the sources of the Nile. What the youth of unequalled genius neglected modern science has accomplished, after the lapse of twenty-two centuries. Henceforth the immemorial mystery of the equatorial sources of the mighty river lies as open and intelligible to the veriest children as the headwaters of the Rhine or the St. Lawrence. We know now that it is a great, steady-flowing stream, fed by the rains of the tropics, deriving the original volume of its more than three thousand miles of flow from the vast inland reservoir of Victoria Nyanza; that its course is now broken by falls, now hemmed by forbidding cliffs, now expended in a network of channels, now swallowed in sands and vegetable flotsam, now swollen by deep affluents, until at last it reaches the region of cataracts and passes finally within the ken and control of civilized man. In the meantime it has drained almost endless tracts of "Dark Africa," and played thereby the chief rôle in the lives of countless tribes lost from all antiquity to the white man's culture, interests and influence.

In all this there is a certain analogy with the long and arduous process by which the Sources of Church History have been explored within the last three hundred years, from province to province of that wonderful land, from desert to desert, from one confluence to another, until we feel that to-day we stand not far from the last great secrets of the beneficent spiritual current that for nineteen centuries has gladdened the life of man.

When from some coign of vantage we look out on the map of the Church's life, and descry the infinite mental phenomena

that enliven it,—its currents, tendencies, movements, cataclysms, shallows and quicksands, breakers and cliffs, its ideals, policies and hypotheses, its finished and unfinished creations,—we are tempted to despair, as though in all this splendid confusion of things great and little, worthy and mean, there were no unity of scope or motion or life, no sufficient significance that a philosophic mind might hope to disengage therefrom. There are not a few, indeed, who turn away from the dread vision, struck with cynicism, as men were fabled to grow blind before the strong gaze of the Gorgon. The world of things ecclesiastical seems like the veriest "dancing-field of Mars," where men meet but for conflict and mutual violence, where compulsion yields to rebellion, and rebellion to dissolution and anarchy, where nothing ends in unity and harmony, and all is forever the beginning of disruption and decay,—the analogon in spirituals to the restless flow of ocean.

Like Faustinian in the Recognitions of Clement, we ask what is the genesis of the miscellaneous past, how did it all come about? Is it a growth, and if so, is anything in it old, identical, permanent? Or is it all like a fugitive stream?

"Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum."

Are there deep, nourishing, vitalizing roots whence spring all the vigor of the trunk, all the branchage and foliage that shelter infinite life and glorify the landscape? Is there somewhere an attainable fountain-head, some spiritual Nyanza whence all flows, and which suffices to explain the million phenomena of history? Are there original laws, like those of the tides and currents of the sea, some divine astronomy of precession and nutation, that govern the apparent fluctuation of all things and execute a cosmic justice in what appears the "Kingdom of Misrule," an empire of shadows and phantasms?

XI.

The solution of such questions would bring us to the creation of philosophic history and eventually, perhaps, to a philosophy of history. But it can only come after the currents themselves have been recognized and numbered, after their affluents and feeders are located, after we have mapped out,

as far as human strength and ingenuity permit, the minute network of human causality, at least in its principal lines and sections. In other words, we must first construct a general chart of the Sources of History, in a manner analogous to that which is followed by the working geographer. We shall not at once have solved even the most pressing problems, but we shall know in what direction to labor, what paths and channels have been followed in vain, what mental equipment is needed to work successfully in others, what landmarks to keep in sight, what roads are at once shortest and safest between two points, what treasures may be looked for in given places, what useful observations are yet wanting, what junctions are yet to be made before the province can be declared open.

In the history of mankind there are many periods that need little or no exploration, if we prescind from the minor and secondary interests of history; but there are others that resemble a Nilotic morass where the true current is hard to seize. Then, too, there are places and times when commanding figures loom out giving sense and unity to the affairs of men, and there are others of wearisome flatness that have importance without charm or interest. There are great cataclysms, like those which produced the cataracts of the Nile, revolutions that give forever a new trend to history, and there are mighty confluences which have been drawing nearer for long centuries, until that hour of awe when the slow-gathering waters commingle at last, and the tiny streams of far-distant watersheds, born high up among the snows and the clouds, flow lovingly together through lands of verdure and sunshine in the splendid enormous volume of some Nile, Amazon or Mississippi. In any case, it is the duty of the historical student to seek out the original sources of each period, no matter how grudgingly they may flow, or how unattractive the story they convey.

What are the Sources of History? In general they are the known or attainable human testimony to the doings of past ages. And they are original or at first hand when they represent contemporary evidence, or what comes nearest to it. The object of history is the activity of man in the past in so far as it may be known. Now, the divine oracles aside, we have

no other way of knowing the past than by transmitted evidence. In this the rude Alaskan or Eskimo who scratches on horn or ivory a bear or walrus hunt does not differ essentially from Xenophon reciting the Retreat of the Ten Thousand or Thucydides repeating the Oration of Pericles over the fallen Athenians. The arts of style and criticism may heighten the tale, but it is equally in both cases a tale of human tradition. Insight, analogy, hypothesis, philosophy, are potent aids in rendering the truth,—but the first and most important thing is the objective truth of history itself. Until that is ascertained, until the kernel of real fact be secured, all the arts of narrative and embellishment are rather to be feared and mistrusted as tending to confound the personal and the subjective with the unchangeable essence of events that can no longer be undone.

XII.

The evidences of the past reach us by *Tradition and Monuments*, the former being usually oral or written. And first as regards Tradition. In embryonic society the human voice binds past, present and future. Whatever the head or heart suggested as worthy of transmission to posterity out of the *Erlebnisse* or experiences of men, be it matter of joy or woe, battle or adventure, ingenuity or wonder, came down from mouth to mouth, as torch kindled torch in the old Greek games. Necessity, ever the parent of invention, taught men how to fasten certain valuable traditions while *in transitu*, so that they might not be modified by that tongue which is as quick to alter as it is to transmit. They locked their traditions in the bonds of a rude metre, or they fixed some note of tone or accent on their recitation, or they prescribed time, place, ritual for the same. The saw, the proverb, the Welsh triad, the Teutonic Weisthümer, the Anglo-Saxon doom, were fixed in verse, so that any tampering with the original might be detected with ease by the interested listener. At times religion intervened, and by the use of archaic language and formulae kept alive traditions considered vital for the common weal. In this manner opens the story of every family of mankind. Away back in the times of foundation are heard the voices of ancestors, more or less faint, more or less numerous

and intelligent. Like Dante before the shade of Cacciaguida, we learn from them a few elemental facts, and then they vanish beyond recall. Even the Jews had their pre-Mosaic traditions. The tribes of Africa, the American Indians, the various members of the great Aryan family of nations, have all in some degree preserved some primitive tradition come down by word of mouth alone. We know now, from the science of folk-lore that even in the most cultured nations there is a respectable code of prehistoric belief and custom which has crossed the ages without the aid of writing, maintained in the popular consciousness by the archaic oral agency of tale, song, fable or allegory.

Nevertheless, there comes a time when the limitations of the human voice and memory as sole sources of tradition are keenly felt. Already rude monuments supply their defects,—the monuments of the dead, cairn, barrow, tumulus; monuments of religious cult, the amorphous block of wood or stone, the painted pole or post, the gigantic menhir and cromlech, the deified objects of nature; political and social monuments like the seats of organized life, the fortified pass or hill-top, the ford or bridge, the centers of gathering or distribution. But these, though sources of history, are largely so through the medium of human tradition, without which they are as dumb as the sea or the clouds.

Here we meet with the second great channel of tradition,—the use of signs, natural or conventional, for the fixation of such data as seem important to human society. This is the beginning of writing, and its invention marks, generally speaking, the passage from barbarism to civilization.[1] There is a subtle popular justice in the old Greek idea, borrowed from the Egyptians, that the Cadmean art was owing to the intervention of the gods. Even in modern times religion has been the benefactress who brought the knowledge or use of letters to the Irish, the Teutons, the Slavs, and other barbarous or

[1] It is time that educated people should realize distinctly what is perhaps the most important result of recent Oriental research. This is the vast antiquity of literature and the use of writing in the ancient Oriental world. Long before the days of Moses, or even Abraham, the Egyptians and Babylonians were people devoted to reading and writing; books and schools were multiplied among them, and libraries existed filled with the literary treasures of the past. Sayce, "The Archæological Witness to the Literary Activity of the Mosaic Age," in *Lex Mosaica*, p. 9, London, 1894. Cf. Iwan Müller, Handbuch der Alterthumswissenschaften, I. 497.

semi-civilized peoples. But the uses of writing were not always so easily acquired. The materials were long unknown or gotten with difficulty. And it took time to create a systematic language.[1] The inscribed rock, the graffiti on the wall of the cave-dwelling, archaic attempts at rune or ogham, mark, perhaps, the first steps in this direction. Later on, materials less durable but more handy and accessible, came into vogue. Bone, horn, ivory, stone, slate marble, plates of bronze, gold, silver, blocks of wood or waxed surfaces, baked clay, the leaves and bark of trees, pulpous fruit, roots, stalks,—whatever would hold the sign-language of man,—were used for the transmission of written tradition.[2]

Of all these materials of tradition, clay, papyrus and parchment or the prepared skin of beasts, have been the real carriers of the world's history. Of the clay tablets that have revealed to us in the nineteenth century the mysteries of Oriental war and peace, science and administration, we shall say nothing; it is a field of knowledge just broken into, and the inventory of our inheritance is scarcely completed; indeed, each year brings bewildering news of fresh finds.[3]

The Nilotic reed, triangular and tapering, known as papyrus or *βύβλος* (the Cyperus Papyrus of Linnaeus), was at some very remote date adapted to the purposes of writing. It would seem from Theophrastus that, like the cocoa-palm, it was a kind of minor providence for the Copts,—furnishing not only food for the poor, but various materials needed by a riverain population,—ropes for rigging, tow for caulking, and

[1] Taught as we are to read and write in early childhood, we hardly realize the place this wondrous art fills in civilized life, till we see how it strikes the barbarian who has not even a notion that such a thing can be. . . . The invention of writing was the great movement by which mankind rose from barbarism to civilization. How vast its effect was may be measured by looking at the low condition of tribes still living without it, dependent on memory for their traditions and rules of life, and unable to amass knowledge or order by keeping record of events and storing up new observations for the use of future generations. Thus it is no doubt right to draw the line between barbarism and civilization where the art of writing comes in, for this gives permanence to history, law and science. Tylor, Anthropology. An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization, pp. 179-180. New York, 1896.

[2] The Beginnings of Writing (Appleton), New York, 1895 by Walter J. Hoffman, M. D., and Prehistoric Art, or the Origin of Art as manifested in the works of prehistoric man, by Thomas Wilson, Washington, 1898. Also, Maspero, The Dawn of Civilization. New York, 1897, p. 220.

[3] Peters, Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates, New York, (Putnam) 1899, Vol. I, pp. 137–140, and Sayce, the Ancient Empires of the East. New York (Scribner) 1894, pp. 164–176.

the like. It seems to have been indigenous along the Middle Nile, in Nubia, and to have been found also in Syria to some extent, whence, under the Arabs, it made its way to Sicily. By cutting the stem longitudinally into strips, laying the same across one another very closely at right angles, covering the mass with some glutinous paste, pressing and drying it in the sun, and polishing it with some very smooth instrument like ivory, the Egyptian obtained a durable surface to which he could commit the thoughts he desired to transmit to posterity.

Very old, too, is the use of parchment, or the skins of animals dressed, died, stretched on frames, cleaned carefully with fleshing knife and pumice stone, until a perfectly even surface is obtained. A new method of preparing it is attributed to a king of Pergamos, in the second century before Christ,—hence the name of περγαμηνή or paper of Pergamos, though its use is of course many centuries older.[1]

XIII.

For the purpose of complete enumeration we may say that Tradition is *oral*, *plastic* or *written*, according as its content has reached us principally by word of mouth, on monuments, or by writing. Again, the objects of tradition may reach us by more than one of these channels, even by all three at the same time.

By oral tradition is understood, not only certain reliable knowledge transmitted from person to person, but also the content of popular tales, sagas, anecdotes, proverbs, historical or religious chants, legends, myths,—in a word, a great *corpus* of narrations or records more or less reliable, which owe their preservation to an unbroken personal interest in their retention and transmission. This interest may be a public or a private one; it may be religious, literary, political, or merely human-social,—nevertheless to it is owing the salvage of a

[1] On the invention and earliest use of papyrus and parchment see Birt, Das Antike Buchwesen, Berlin, 1882; ch. II, p. 46–54, and Wattenbach, Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 91–123. That parchment (*membranae*, διφθέραι) was used in very ancient times in the Orient is proved by the reference of Diodorus Siculus (II, 31) to the royal parchments of the Persians,—their sacred writings alone being confided to twelve hundred ox skins. In the Revue Archéologique (XV, 1 sqq.) M. Chabas describes what he calls the "oldest book in the world, the Egyptian Papyrus Prisso," said to date from 2000 B. C., and containing in eighteen finely written pages miscellaneous material, notably one tract of fourteen pages which declares itself to be only a perfect copy of an older book.

multitude of human *dicta et acta* that in its absence or impotency would never have reached us in any manner. Given certain conditions of civilization, the popular memory is both retentive and affectionate; it embalms the essence of lives, situations, great deeds, great joys, great sorrows, and later gives up these same memories stripped, perhaps, of all that was local, transitory, insignificant. The popular mind is not unlike the bed of ocean with its fabled property of transmutation by which nothing in it—

> "But doth suffer a sea change
> Into something rich and strange."

Who would believe, until it was done, that a whole national epic, the Wainamöinen of the Finns, could be collected from the mouths of the people? Who imagined that there was yet so much genuine interest in their remotest past among the peasantry of Ireland until some Douglas Hyde began to make his way among them, ere the chilling science of these last days shall kill outright the delicate romantic feeling of an ancient folk? One may now put some trust, at least in the color and the spirit of the cycles of Cuchullin and Finn, since we are aware of the influence they exercised upon the course of Irish literature since it fell into the hands of Christians.[1]

By Monuments we usually understand any original remnants of historical events that may have reached our own time. They differ from Tradition which represents these events themselves, in so far as they have been apprehended by the human intellect and handed down from mind to mind as

[1] I have tried on another occasion, to give some idea of what must have been the content of ancient oral tradition at a time when men trusted to it alone for the uses of history. "No doubt there was (among the ancient Kelts) a large popular literature of battle-songs, the raw material of some glorious future epic, splendid tales and chants of rude but grand sublimity, chapters of history in which fact and legend were intertwined like the rugged headlands and their enshrouding mists on the wintry coasts of Kerry,—just such a *rudis indigestaque moles* of literature as a warlike, ardent, sensitive and poetic race produces amid the scenes of untutored nature and during the hard training of war and wandering. The want of an alphabet and a fixed political régime has prevented all this from reaching us. Strange tales there surely were of the long journeys across the border lands of Asia and Europe; of the old Aryan fatherland; of battles, feuds and forays; of love and death and stirring adventure; of the sack of Rome and the forcing of Thermopylae, of the overthrow of kings of Pergamos and descendants of Alexander. What would we not give for some undeniable echoes of that tender, flexible, lyric tongue of the Kelts, while there was yet a vast though loose political unity among them, when they went wildly conquering on the Danube and the Ebro, in the happy climes of Spain and Italy, or on the classic soil of Greece and the islands of the Midland Sea, perhaps with great Carthage herself, who was wont to hire their bands as mercenary soldiers? "Ancient Keltic Literature," in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July, 1894, pp. 469-470.

through a channel. The distinction is by no means a hard and fast one; not unfrequently the traditional and monumental elements are to be found imbedded in the same object; nevertheless, it seems to differentiate roughly the enormous mass of historical materials, and to bring order and method into the collection of original sources, as well as into such comment and application as they may later on receive.

XIV.

In the attempt to secure firm ground for the study of history it may not be amiss to look more closely into the nature of the two sources described as Tradition and Monuments. Tradition, we have seen, suffers a division into plastic, oral, and written, according as the conscious transmission of facts and happenings is done by the use of essentially artistic material, by word of mouth, or by writing on surfaces at once specially prepared and portable. Thus, under the rubric of *plastic tradition* we may classify paintings, sculptured work, engraved surfaces, coins, plaques,—whatever hard and durable materials have been used, intentionally or not, to preserve for posterity the knowledge of the past. The painted halls of Egyptian temples, Etruscan tombs, and Pompeian villas, the sculptured marvels of Persepolis and the rock-temples of Ellora, the primitive Doric money, the cuneiform tablets of Niniveh, the waxed or leaden "diploma" of the Roman soldier,—all such are examples of ancient and reliable use of the raw material of the arts for purposes of history. By *oral tradition* we understand the entire cycle of historical materials which have survived chiefly by transition from mouth to mouth, without any extrinsic material aid. In this manner there has come down an incalculable quantity of tales, sagas, anecdotes, proverbs, popular chants of every description, legend, myth, fable, and all that scholars to-day range within the limits of the new science of folk-lore. Naturally, the quantity of such tradition is greater in pre-historic times, among peoples rude or semi-cultured, while among the civilized peoples the tendency is even stronger to entrust the events of history to the custody of writing. So we reach the province of *written tradition*, whose boundaries are very wide. To it belong all surfaces inscribed with the intent of transmission to posterity, all

genealogies or accounts of family descent, the calendars or time-indexes prepared for religious or legal purposes, the annals or records of events from year to year, the chronicles, which are only annals made continuous, enriched with abundant materials, and like the annals usually attached to some institution,—king, emperor, pope, bishop, abbot or order. Here, too, belong all biographies, profane or religious, all memoirs and notes of happenings,—in a word, all written forms of history from the rudest archaic historical epigraph to the labors of Bollandist and Benedictine.

When the ancients left us the names of the Seven Wise Men of Greece and the Seven Wonders of the World they may have been vaguely moved by the ideas of Tradition and Monuments, incorporating in the former the useful knowledge handed down from man to man, and in the latter the supremest material efforts of man's labor and genius. In any case man has dealt so mightily with nature and time that to some extent he has risen above them and forced them to cry out ceaselessly his manifold greatness. In this brittle and delicate shell of the body there energizes a celestial spirit that throws out forever shadows of itself endowed with vitality enough to challenge time and change and accident. So the solemn thought of Egypt dominates the ages from the tops of obelisk and pyramid. So Greece lifts up forever from among the ruins of the Acropolis her plastic, symbolizing hand. So the iron will, the selfish heart, the cruel earthiness of Rome, look down unceasingly from the broken arches of the Colosseum. In his monumental works man somehow escapes, if not death, at least the ignominy of silence, the last shame of oblivion. They are the impregnable fortress of the genius of his race, and it was not without a subtle instinct that the mediæval fancy ascribed the great cathedrals to demoniac or angelic impulses,—so supramundane seemed the labors of an Erwin von Steinbach or an Arnolfo di Lapo. Even nature itself must become the monument of man, whether for purposes of vanity or commerce or war, it matters little. The leveled mountain, the mighty mound, the deflected river, the valley dammed up and made an inland sea, the rifled veins and arteries of the mines, the white rifts in the marble hill-side, the terraced mountain exchanging golden wine for pebbles and torrents, the irrigated

plain blossoming into richest harvests,—all these are nameless monuments of the thought of man in its varied flights of grandeur or folly. What resistance is there in nature when a Stosicrates could promise Alexander that he would turn Mount Athos into a statue of the conqueror, with a city of ten thousand inhabitants in his left hand and a swift-flowing river in his right!

XV.

As the result of unequalled labors and good fortune we are enabled to-day to divide the Monuments of human activity in the past into *Remains* (Reliquiae, Avanzi, Ueberreste) and *Memorials*. To be more particular, the historian means by Remains whatever survives of the individual man himself, his sepulchre with its ornaments, his skeleton, his barrows and middings, his dwellings in cliff and cave and lake. Piety, interest, fear, chance, have saved an incredible amount of knowledge concerning man in antiquity or outside civilization, largely gathered from the mysterious precincts of the grave, that borderland between the realm of history and a holier realm where there is no history, because there is no change, only the absolute fixity of an eternal Yea. Among such relics of the past must also be counted the forms of human speech, the tongues of all mankind, cultured and savage. Indeed, the modern sciences of philology, anthropology, and ethnology have for the first time revealed what a world of history clings everywhere to the poor handful of dust that we call man.

For the historian human society is like a vast forest whose floor is formed by infinite mold-layers of previous vegetation, each bearing witness to the features of earth in its own day; like a great ocean in whose numberless bays and inlets the jetsam and flotsam of life is piled up, the gold with the scoria, the precious with the refuse; like a huge Mykenae where one civilization acts as tombstone to another, hiding and embalming, but also transmitting and sanctifying. Among the principal relics that society thus enshrines and transmits from epoch to epoch, from culture to culture, are certain general conditions of human life,—manners and customs, those *mores* ever old and ever new, the feasts or public rejoicings of peoples, their games, their memorial solemnities, their institutions of public or domestic life, their laws, political constitutions and the

like. Then, too, society in a general way protects the product of the physical and mental labor of the race,—books, which shelter the arts and the sciences; coins, or the means of commercial life; weapons, or the means of self-preservation; the works of architecture, in which human genius rises to all the varied fulness of its powers. There is an innate social impulse to preserve the memory of great political meetings of men,—councils, parliaments, diets,—together with discourses, relations, reports, pamphlets, letters, the "accepta et expensa" of administration. Some unselfish piety or affection toward posterity is accountable for this constant selection and transmission of the principal pages of our own story as we journey along the great way of the centuries, grateful for a similar legacy to us from those failing hands whose burden we have been called to take up.

These various kinds of human remains have all a monumental character, because they are themselves original fragments, survivals of the events they commemorate, and because they fulfil an historical function in the unconscious revelation of the past that emanates from them, singly or collectively, visible to all or only to the practised eye of the critic and the student. But there is another class of historical remains which have reached us, bearing the avowed intention of warning, instruction, edification. These are *Monuments* in the strictest sense of the word, being set up in a durable manner for the express purpose of conveying information to posterity. Such are all charters, diplomas, privileges, all official documentary papers of a juridical character and value, meant to secure rights and concessions against the ignorance or bad will of later comers. They are the "Monumenta Priorum," that every society recognizes and venerates, whether they be kept in the tabularium of the Praefectus Urbis, or the muniment-room of some mediæval abbey, or the registry of deeds and titles of some brand-new city that rises over the mines of Butte or Kimberley. Akin to these, only, as a rule, of a more public character, are *Historical Inscriptions* set up with the intention of informing or edifying posterity. They may be of world-wide importance like the Monumentum Ancyranum, or they may merely chronicle the infamy of peculators in the public corn-funds like those bronze tablets that once stared the visitor

in the palace of the Doges,—their object is an historical one, and they are among the most prized sources of history, since they are public, free from collusion, and beyond suspicion of forgery or tampering,—brief but sure and authoritative voices, green oases in the desert of pyrrhonism. Finally, there are those public remains which the popular sense with great justice reckons as the principal monuments of history, great architectural works raised by men *ad aeternam rei memoriam*, whether it be the stone set up by Jacob or that "glorious heap of funeral" which mocked the Thracian billows and proclaimed the virtues of Patroclus. The memorial cairn is as old as mankind, which dearly loves to mark the last resting place of its great or dear ones by some imperishable sign. No man knows where lie the bones of Moses, and those of Alaric rest forever beneath the flow of Busento. But these are exceptions. The Mausoleum of Hadrian, the Taje Mehal of Shah Jehan, the sky-piercing Shaft of Washington, represent better the usual attitude of the human mind, that delights in preaching to posterity from cairn, shaft, mound, tower, or dome, and, with some Babel-like perversity, is forever willing to exhaust its resources in monuments that promise defiance to time and ignorance.

XVI.

Where shall the student find the historical materials thus classified? Or rather, in what great collections have they been brought together? In some departments, that of written tradition, there is now little or no reason for complaint. Public and private enterprise have brought together since the Renaissance nearly all that is of value to our modern world, and made these treasures accessible and serviceable from nearly every point of view. The mass of oral tradition is being slowly laid up, studied and sifted. Out of these labors has come the science of folk-lore with its numerous votaries, its societies at home and abroad. The time seems far distant when its students shall feel that they have ransacked sufficiently the conscience of humanity in its remotest and least visited recesses. Learned and observant travel, the establishment of museums, applied ethnology, anthropology, geography, the intelligent curiosity and devotion of public servants, swell yearly the fund of oral traditions that remain to humanity, and cause men to

hope seriously for a scientific and accurate history of all prehistoric times, freed from prejudice and interest or any preoccupation alien to the facts and the evidences.[1]

Similarly, the subject-matter of plastic tradition is far from being all collected and easily accessible. We have histories of painting, according to schools and nations and times and tendencies, catalogues of all galleries and all areas of excavation, countless attempts to bring together the work of the engraver, endless volumes of coins, ancient, mediæval, modern, imperial, national, papal. But nothing like a unity of plan has yet been evolved, whereby the whole material of plastic tradition can be easily got at by the student of history.

It is different, however, when we approach the written materials that Tradition and the Monuments furnish us. Inscriptions, histories, annals, chronicles, biographies, memoirs; acts of councils, diets, parliaments; correspondence of popes, emperors, kings and republics; reports of nuncios and ambassadors; accounts of customs, revenues, tax-rolls; laws, rescripts, decrees; constitutions of states and cities, rules of religious orders; the literary labors of every nation and corporation,—in a word, every form of written tradition has submitted to analysis and synthesis, and to-day finds its material recognized and classified,—more or less completely,—nevertheless, assigned its place and office in the vast archive of historical materials that the last three centuries have created.

On another occasion we shall attempt to describe, in a general way, how far the science of Church History has profited by this progress. The Church has her own peculiar life, spirit, action, scope,—hence we shall expect to find the Sources of Church History a field of study quite distinct from anything else in the history of humankind. We shall see at the same time that it is impossible to pursue it without steady reference to political and institutional history,—indeed, to every interest that has substantially affected man or society.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

[1] The publications and transactions of the English and American folk lore societies furnish a good starting point for the study of the *mare magnum* of existing oral tradition.

MORAL THEOLOGY AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In writing under this broad title, we do not propose to treat all the questions which might naturally suggest themselves to the reader. Such a work would take us far beyond the limits of a simple article, for it would necessitate a review of systems, principles and methods now in vogue; detailed examination of the condition of the science in seminaries and universities, and of its relation to the problems of modern life. That in turn would imply a critical review of the history of some centuries for the purpose of tracing out with accuracy the thousand converging lines of cause and condition which have produced the actual status of Moral Theology.

Inviting as is that field of investigation, we confine ourselves to narrower limits. We wish merely to call attention to the place which the science actually holds in the group of sciences to which it belongs, to indicate the faults therein, to explain the causes and conditions which have produced them, and to hint at the methods to be employed in order to reinstate Moral Theology in the place to which its dignity and character entitle it.[1]

I.—Present Condition of Moral Theology.

In order to fix the reader's attention at once, we may begin with the statement that the present condition of Moral Theology is in strange contradiction with its intrinsic character and with the spirit of the day. When we consider the time and talent devoted to the study of the moral sciences in our day, the efforts made to improve methods and to awaken the public to a sense of their importance, we must regretfully admit that Moral Theology has failed to keep pace with the times.

Ten years ago Cardinal d'Annibale wrote: "Eloquar? Sensim sine sensu prope consenescimus; nam . . . quasi viribus

[1] We have treated these matters in various publications. See especially Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis, pp. 1–139.

deficientes, compendiariis lucubrationibus contenti sumus, et ea quae veteres Theologi longe lateque versarunt, attingimus vix summis digitis, et praesertim ea quae ad justitiam pertinent. Aliud hujus aetatis incommodum esse videtur, quod, indulgentiores facti, quasi assentari humanae imbecillitati videmur"[1] Soon after that, a writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* commented on the Cardinal's words as follows: "It is a fact, deplorable but too true and evident to any one who has carefully followed the development of the study of Moral Theology for the past forty years. With few exceptions, we have a mass of compendiums made and fashioned with a somnolency almost senile, without a trace of profound study or exact criticism. If one happen to find some proof of diligence, it has been used merely in collecting and copying the sayings of others. That is the view which greets one. In speaking thus, we do not by any means disapprove of compendiums; on the contrary, we recognize their necessity for the student. What we do condemn, however, is the carelessness with which they are made; the habit of representing as different, opinions which are identical; of citing authorities which have little or no bearing on a question, without having read them; of repeating with unparalleled *naïveté*, sophisms and arguments which have been examined, discussed, refuted countless times. In a word, we condemn the lack of precision, of erudition, of a critical habit in moral science. This reprinting, or more exactly, this collecting of different opinions is well described by the *consenescimus* and *vix attingimus summis digitis* of Cardinal d'Annibale."[2] Much in the same spirit Father Berthier, O. P., said recently, in speaking of manuals of Dogmatic and Moral Theology, "The literature of modern manuals must be considered as one of the plagues of theological science."[3]

Such being the case, it is not strange that Moral Theology has lost its place among the sciences of life. Instead of reigning among them as a queen, it is hardly recognized as an equal;

[1] Summula Theol. Moralis III Ed., Vol. 1, p. 12, proemium. Regarding the excessive tendency to which the Cardinal's "indulgentiores" points; cf. Mgr. Isoard, bishop of Annecy: *Le système du moins possible et demain dans la société chrètienne.* Paris, 1896; C. 10–14, App. 6.

[2] *Civiltà Cattolica*, ser XIV, Vol. 6, p. 443.

[3] Maitre Thomas et St. Ignace Réplique au R. P. Brucker, S. J. Louvain, 1896, p. 31, note 3. Cf. Gayrand, Questions du jour, XI.

instead of being consulted by those who direct human activity in its different spheres, its very existence is all but ignored. Though this condition is due in a measure to the decadence of the Christian spirit, still that does not explain all. The science has failed to put itself in touch with new currents of thought; failed to anticipate problems of life and to win consideration for the solutions which it offers. Modern civilization has forced to the foreground serious problems which properly belong to the domain of Moral Theology, but the world has not asked that science for guidance in meeting them. Even the clergy seem to be satisfied with the narrow professional side, for when important questions arise, such as those of wages, property in land, education, they as a rule seek solutions not in a profound study of the principles of Moral Theology, but elsewhere.

Still more, the very method followed in the teaching of Moral Theology is sometimes a source of doubt and difficulty to many. Though we might enumerate instances taken from the average seminary life, we prefer to mention but one case, striking and typical. It is that of the celebrated Ausonio Franchi, whose conversion was such a source of joy to the Church. His biographer says of him: "The comparison of doctrines learned from seminary manuals with those taught by other authors, the divergence of opinion among moralists on a majority of questions and the practice of the confessional, awakened grave doubts in the conscience of the young priest and caused a serious unrest in his mind. To instruct himself and bring peace to his soul, he undertook the study of the theological principles whence opinions on moral questions are derived, and though he was dealing with controversies legitimately discussed in the Church and differently settled by theologians, he came to the conclusion (wrongly as he later admitted) that his seminary studies had not been directed in a spirit of truth, but rather with a sectarian bias, and that, when he thought he had finished he found it necessary to commence again." [1]

Nor is that the worst feature of the case. The nature and object of Moral Theology are being entirely forgotten or

[1] Ausonio Franchi, by Angelo Angelini, p. 16. Cf. Ultima Critica, p. 1, c. 2, § 3, n. 116.

misrepresented. Proof is seen in a recent book which has been widely read and much praised for its stimulating character and suggestive views: "Our Seminaries," by Rev. J. Talbot Smith. We find there stated the following: "Moral Theology may have the *fifth* place without dispute (after holy scripture, philosophy, dogmatic theology, literature) but it should never be higher in the most limited and starved curriculum. Of its very nature it must rank second to the preceding studies. It is in one sense simply a *method of applying certain principles* to human conditions, and whatever the genius employed in its development and expression, it ranks only with the science of law. It must shift its interpretations with the shifting circumstances of races and nations. . . . It is a noble science, and the writer has no disposition to speak of it with indifference, or to diminish its claims to respect. But it must keep its place, and avoid pretensions. It cannot rank with the study of the Scriptures, which is the study of Christ; nor with the study of philosophy, which is the study of man; nor with dogma, which is the mind of the Church; nor yet with literature, which is the mind of the people, expressed in all ages and under innumerable conditions. It is next to these, because it is the immediate instrument of the priest in his ministry to the people; without which his service would lack efficiency, and might easily lapse into raggedness. It can hold the fifth place with ease, for it is a facile science in its elements, practical and therefore dear to the hard-headed student with more vocation than brains, indispensable forevermore, and attractive to geniuses whose talents have legal bent, a twist toward the work of making statutes and renewing them to fit the uneasy nature of man."[1] When one reads that page for the first time, one thinks of an Aristotle, a St. Augustine, a St. Thomas, a Suarez, whose transcendent genius never appeared to better advantage than in their writings on the principles of moral science; one recalls the great Franciscus Victoria, who called theology the first of sciences, to which nothing was foreign,

[1] P. 270. Our purpose is not to refute the views here expressed. It is to call attention to a view of the nature and method of Moral Theology, which is unfortunately too widely shared. We make the citation with some embarrassment, for in the context from which the extract is taken, the author of the work pays an unmerited tribute to the writer of this article.

and who believed that this explained why there were so few really great theologians; or again, one understands how, in the seventeenth century, a subtle and original writer could have bitterly complained about those who tried to write on Moral Theology without sufficient preparation in metaphysics, logic and the sciences, unaided save by a dose of common sense.[1] One is forced, in a word, to the melancholy conclusion that Moral Theology, the science of those principles which should direct man towards the supreme end of his existence, is in our day fallen exceedingly low, since even its friends scarcely recognize it and then manage to make room for it below philosophy and after literature!

Such is the situation. Moral Theology is all but an outcast. It is no longer recognized as possessing the dignity and rank it once had when genius loved to spend itself in elucidating its principles. Dwarfed beyond recognition, it is an adjunct, a mere technical necessity for the priest. Before attempting to examine the condition in detail and explain the causes which have led to it, we wish to sketch ever so briefly the essential conditions of all theology, in particular of moral; to show its place in that order which alone corresponds to reality.[2]

II.—The Place and the Character of Moral Theology.

I. As in the objective order all things are related to one another, forming a vast system whose crowning point is the Supreme Being to whom all is subject, so all sciences are related, and they form a system whose climax is the science of the Supreme Being.[3] Though it is beyond the powers of any individual to master all sciences, no matter how remarkable his genius or patient his industry, yet the ensemble of the sciences

[1] Caramuel. Theol. Mor. Fund. Francf. 1652, p. 27.

[2] We speak of course of Catholic Moral Theology alone. Moral Theology was never seriously and methodically studied by non-Catholics. It scarcely finds place in their curricula of studies; possibly a couple of hours a week for a semester. President Harper of Chicago does not even mention it in his recent article in the American Journal of Theology where he reviews the entire theological curriculum and suggests some reforms. Phillip Schaff said that "English and American literature is very poor in works of Christian ethics." So dire, indeed, is this poverty that Hurst, in a painful effort to lengthen the list of *Christian* moralists, adds to it the names of Kant, Spencer, Spinoza, even of Marcus Aurelius and Seneca. Literature of Theology, p. 482.

[3] Cf. M. Billia, L'unità dello scibile e la filosofia della morale. Turin, 1898.

has been a favorite subject of study from time immemorial. The wish to construct the hierarchy of sciences has given rise to much interesting speculation. The efforts of Aristotle and St. Thomas, collective encyclopedias, classifications of sciences now much more numerous than ever,[2] universities wherein all sciences are taught or are supposed to be taught—all such are results of man's insatiable longing to reach final unity in knowledge. If the sciences, then, are closely related to one another, the understanding of those relations is essential if one wish to master a science. Hence it is that man's ability to master any science is in direct proportion to the breadth of his knowledge beyond its field. It is strange that a truth so trite as this should be so often ignored. The separation of Theology from the other sciences does violence to it and to them. No university centre can be complete without it. True enough, some have denied that Theology is a science; they have refused to accord it a place among the sciences and its chairs have been excluded from scientific centers. Those who maintain this position justify it by appealing to the *autonomy of human reason* and the need of *unity in the positive method.* Others, to justify its admission to a place among the sciences, have thought fit to mutilate it or circumscribe its limits.[2] But

[1] One of the latest attempts in this line is *L'essai sur la classification des sciences*, Edmond Goblot, Paris, 1898.

[2] It is a well-known fact that the French universities, as now organized, have no faculty of Catholic theology, though there are some faculties of Protestant theology. How this anomalous situation is to be explained, and especially how it harmonizes with "equal rights to all religions," is not at present our concern. We wish, however, to note that it is not the Catholics who begrudge Protestant theology its place in the university, but rather the free-thinkers and the secularizers. In answer to their objections, M. A. Sabatier has published, in the *Revue internationale de l'enseignement supérieur* (Nov., 1898), an article entitled: Les facultés de théologie protestantes et les études scientifiques dans les Universités. Some of its passages are suggestive. Here, for instance, is an objection as he presents it: "On pourrait d'abord soulever une sorte de question préalable. Ce qui constitue, l'unité de la science, et, par suite, une université moderne, c'est l'unité de méthode. Cette unité repose sur l'autonomie interne de la raison, c'est-à-dire sur l'inébranlable certitude qu'a l'esprit moderne de posséder en soi la norme souveraine de ses idées et de ses actes. L'evidence rationelle, l'expérience positive, la critique libre,—tels sont les principes ou les conditions premières de tout travail scientifique digne de ce nom; tel est le lien qui rattache en un faisceau puissant et homogène toutes les branches de la science. Une faculté de théologie peut-elle pratiquer cette méthode et entrer loyalment dans la solidarité intime de cet organisme?" . . .

And here is M. Sabatier's reply: "On comprend à la rigueur qu'une telle objection soit élevée à propos des facultés de théologie Catholiques, qu'on suppose, à tort suivant moi, réglées par la méthode d'autorité. En fait, la méthode autoritative, c'est-à-dire, la méthode proprement scolastique, ne règne souverainement pour les Catholiques que dans une seule discipline, dans l'étude du dogme. Mais on ne voit pas que dans les autres, dans l'archéologie, dans la critique des textes par exemple,

such errors are mere accidents, quite contrary to the deeper tendencies of the human mind; a natural reaction will in time deliver us from them.[1]

II. The truths of religion, which form the object of theology, combine, in turn, into one system whose parts are intimately related.[2] The genius of the theologian is shown by his power to bring out this unity; to so analyze, subordinate and coör-

sauf quelques points réservés, un savant Catholique manque de liberté, au point de ne pouvoir rien faire de scientifique. La réalité dément ici une logique trop prompte. Il y a des facultés Catholiques nationales dans les universités allemandes, et elles y rendent d'incontestables services. Croit-on que des hommes tels que l'abbé Duchesne, le père Denifle, l'abbé Batifol, l'abbé Bouquet et d'autres encore, ne tiendraient pas bien leur place dans une université. Quoi qu'il en soit, il faut reconnaître que si l'objection a quelque chose de spécieux pour les catholiques, elle n'a aucune raison d'être à l'égard des facultés protestantes. Dans le protestantisme, il n'y a ni autorité fixe, ni tribunal dogmatique infallible, et, dès lors, le travail scientifique n'y saurait être arrêté on bridé par aucun pouvoir." . . . Details aside, we would simply observe that this answer, taken as a whole, involves a pitiable equivocation. If real university methods require the autonomy, the absolute independence of human reason, and if, on the other hand, Protestant theology takes divine revelation for its basis, then evidently there is no more room in a university for Protestant theology than for Catholic. Brought face to face with the Word of God, the Protestant must accept it; his scientific research is *arrêté, bridé*.

Under like pressure, Jean Réville, a colleague of M. Sabatier, chose as the subject of his opening discourse, in October, 1858: La théologie partie intégrante du cycle universitaire et fondement indispensable de la réformation. He endeavors to show that theological studies must have a strictly scientific character in order to hold a place in the university, and that university teaching cannot neglect the investigation of religious phenomena without self-mutilation. Now, let us see what his notion of theology is: "La théologie moderne n'est autre chose que la science de la religion. Elle a pour objet les faits et les phénomènes de la vie religieuse dans le passé et dans le présent, sans aucune restriction de race, de temps, de confession ecclésiastique. . . . C'est d'abord une science historique, parce qu'elle se propose de connaître et de vérifier les faits et les textes religieux du passé au moyen de la méthode critique. C'est ensuite une science psychologique. En effet, après avoir étudié la religion dans ses inombrables manifestations du passé, elle étudie le phénomène religieux dans l'homme vivant de nos jours; elle observe, recueille, et analyse les sentiments religieux, la nature propre de la foi, les expériences religieuses, dout l'étude contemporaine jette le plus souvent un jour si précieux sur la vie du passé. Elle scrute les rapports de la religion avec la vie morale individuelle ou sociale; elle cherche les relations qui existent entre le développement religieux et le développement intellectual bre' elle fait une analyse aussi complète que possible des facultés re igieuses de l'homme. Enfin c'est une science philosophique ou dogmatique; car après avoir rénni tous les matériaux que l'histoire et la psychologie religieuse peuvent lui fournir, elle s'efforce de les co-ordonner en une construction d'ensemble." *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, November–December, 1898.

[1] Signs of such a reaction are not wanting. Such, among others, are the letters on "Scientific Instruction among the Catholic Clergy," by Mgr. Baunard, Rector of the Catholic University of Lille, the "Report" on the same subject presented by Professor Senderens at the last national congress in Paris, and, from a non-Catholic source, President Harper's reflection on the curriculum (*American Journal of Theology, III*, 1).

[2] They are naturally divided into three groups, *theoretical, practical, social or political*. The division is suggested by the Symbol, the Decalogue, and the Sacrament; it corresponds to the threefold character of Christ as Teacher, Priest and King; and to the threefold power of the Church, magisterium, ministerium, imperium. Euntes docete . . . baptizantes . . . servare quaecumque mandavi. Cfr. Franzelin, De Traditione, th. XII, sch. 1, pr. 2.

dinate the whole field of religious truth that the nature of the parts and their relations to one another and to the whole may be clearly seen. It is a task reserved for genius of the highest order. Such a genius was St. Thomas; such a work is admirably done in his Summa. Therein theology is represented as it should be, as a harmonious whole, a living organism. The attempt to study one portion of the field of theology, therefore, to the neglect or exclusion of any other, must be fatal. The separation of the practical truths, which are the subject-matter of moral science, from the theoretical and social, can be fraught only with evil consequences. Father Kleutgen, S. J., who has done so much to revive interest in scholasticism, has expressed the thought in this manner: "Moralis doctrina cum dogmatica multis in locis, ita cognata et concreta est ut divelli nisi violenter non possit; ut in quaestionibus de sacramentis, de gratia, justificatione et merito, de fine hominis etc. Sed ea quoque quae separari non incommode queunt, altera ab alteris illustrantur; quare praestat secundum veterum morem, utramque in unum doctrinae corpus redigere."[1] It is no surprise, consequently, to find that those who have attained eminence in one field of Theology should have been authorities also in the others, as Palavicini remarked in speaking of Lugo: "Neque fuit in contemplatrici theologia subtilior quam in morali prudentior; quamvis ego hujus postremae conjunctionis decus non tanquam singulare aliquid suspexerim. Rarum hoc esse atque insociabile dictitant homunciones nonnulli, quibus expediret, ipsam unius doctrinae vacuitatem alterius esse probabilem conjecturam; perinde ac si vera omnia, atque adeo scientiae omnes, cognato foedere, non coirent; perinde ac si quaecumque rata conclusio in rerum agendarum quaestionibus, ex meditantis philosophiae initiis, non emergeret; perinde ac si metaphysica non esset disciplinarum omnium praeceptrix ac parens. Quid enim? Annon, quem modo laudavi, Aristoteles inter ethnicos, Aristotelique proximus Aquinas inter Christianos, denique inter sodales nostros Toletus, Vasquius, Suarius, Molina, in utroque dicendi genere praecipui sunt? ita ut potius admirabile sit, quempiam in solis moralibus praestare?"[2]

[1] Inst. Theol., Tom. I, n. 37.
[2] Vita Lugonis—Beginning of *Responsa Moralia.*

III. Coming to the field of Moral Theology alone, we find it made up of one system of truths, capable of division and subdivision indefinitely. Naturally, one may study the ensemble of the science or any portion of it. If one take the latter course, one must keep well in mind the relations of the part to the whole, and vice versa, just as the physiologist would do in studying eye, ear or lungs. Whichever method be followed, the subject of study must be viewed as a whole and in all its relations.

1. We have first of all the *positive* side; the study of the sources of religious truth or its demonstration by suitable arguments drawn from revelation or reason. This process is of fundamental importance to the practical truths of revelation as well as to the theoretical. Yet what a difference! The literature of the latter is varied, abundant, and able (see for instance Petavius and Thomassinus), while that of the former is meagre and insignificant. Everything remains to be done. Some writers now seem to favor the habit of treating moral principles along the lines of special sources instead of studying them in all their sources at once. Thus we have Rational, Biblical, Symbolic, Conciliar, Liturgical, Patristic Theology. While this method has its advantages, it must be admitted that there is danger of incomplete and inexact views, probability of error and superficiality. In fact, works published by Protestant writers under such titles as, "Ethics of the Old or the New Testament;" "Ethics of St. Paul," etc., show considerable defects, due in part to the methods employed.

2. Next, we have the *strictly dogmatic* point of view from which truths are examined in their relation to the definitions of the Church, their degree of certainty and the latitude consistent therewith. Here again we find the literature of the theoretical truths of revelation far in advance of that of the practical, though of equal importance for the latter.[1]

3. The *speculative* side is next in order. It includes explanation, exposition, consequences, comparisons of truths. The condition is more encouraging here. The chef d'œuvre of

[1]We use the phrase *strictly dogmatic*, since the word dogmatic is ordinarily confined to theoretical truths. The practical or moral truths are also dogmatic.

St. Thomas is probably the Secunda of the Summa, and Suarez is certainly at his best in his treatise De Legibus,—both works being largely devoted to the speculative side of moral truths.

4. Finally, we have the point of view which may be called polemic, apologetic, irenic. Error is exposed, truth defended, conditions of reconciliation stated. In polemics and apologetics, much more has been done by the great controversial works for the theoretical truths of revelation than for truths of a practical and moral nature.

Any study of theological truth which aims to be complete must include those points of view. Of course it is natural, even necessary, that one at times confine one's study to a particular aspect; we have real masterpieces of this kind in the literature of theology. We merely insist on the fact, that the point of view is incomplete. The great scholastics of the middle ages and those who came after the Council of Trent, realized this thoroughly. This alone explains how it is that the study of their works is so valuable in giving a broad and solid theological training. Those who are acquainted with the Summa of St. Thomas, De Legibus and De Religione of Suarez, De Justitia of Molina, De Poenitentia of Lugo, De Matrimonio of Sanchez, will readily appreciate the force of this observation.

IV. Theology is a science which must be applied. This is done in teaching and directing the Christian people. Thus we have in teaching, catechetics and homiletics; in direction, casuistry and pastoral theology. Under these forms theology has always been carefully studied, even from the days in which St. Paul gave us true models in his letters. Probably casuistry has fared best. Requiring, as it does, a profound grasp of principles, exact knowledge of conditions, and of the human heart, and so much tact, it is not strange that it should have received great attention. The literature of casuistry is one of the glories of Catholic Theology. It excels by far in dignity, character and sobriety, every other form of casuistry, whether that of the Talmud, the Stoics, or the Pandects.[1]

[1] Cfr. CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY BULLETIN, Vol. II., p. 375. Also, Raymond Thamin *Un problème moral dans l'antiquité*, étude sur la casuistique *stoicien*. Brunetière, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1, 1885.

V. Moral Theology is clearly distinguished from the other moral (or normative) sciences by its object, sources and method. There are five such sciences—viz., Ethics, Sociology, Politics, Economics, Law. It is, however, so closely allied with them that they may not for a moment be neglected. All concern man's free activity and the laws which should govern it. But Moral Theology has to do with all human activity, which it directs to man's supreme destiny—the absolute good. The other moral sciences, however, are confined to particular spheres of human action and its direction to a proximate contingent good. Their relations to Moral Theology are intimate, for its laws are also laws for them, and they in turn furnish valuable data for the investigation of the truths of the moral order. A word as to each.

1. Ethics is to Moral Theology about what the natural law is to the supernatural law; natural religion to supernatural religion; in a word, what the whole natural order is to the supernatural order. It is not strange then that ethics should have entered so largely into Moral Theology, where, in reality, it reached its highest stage of development. To find the best exposition of its bearings on Moral Theology we must again recur to the Summa. There is scarcely a question in all ethics that is not treated in the Secunda, yet its true theological character is never lost for a moment. Only the passions of schools could deny that the Summa is a theological work, moral as well as speculative, and only the superficial character of our own time could claim to see in it a half pagan ethics, a compromise between religion and the world, because Aristotle and Cicero are used by St. Thomas as auxiliaries in his work.

2. Sociology has not yet succeeded in clearly delimiting its field. It found many of its elements in other sciences, notably in Moral Theology, from which it has taken the conception of the social organism. If its various conflicting schools do not hinder its normal development, it will become a valuable ally of Moral Theology. There is in fact a supernatural as well as a natural sociology. The Catholic religion is essentially social, fitting admirably the social nature of man. Faith, worship, sacrifice, sacraments have a distinctly social character. In the communion of saints, in the sharing of indul-

gences, prayers, satisfaction and merit we have a perfect and beautiful supernatural solidarity. The instinct of association asserts itself in the varied forms found in the Church, from simple conference to religious order, from parish to universal Church.

3. Economics, for so many centuries a part of Moral Theology and the object of much careful discussion,[1] became a separate science a century ago. During the first period of its existence its writers, with some noble exceptions, represented it as not only distinct but even separated from ethics. They professed merely to aim to discover the laws of production and exchange. Such were the so-called orthodox or liberal economists of the Manchester school. Soon, however, writers began to study the relations of economics and moral science. A reaction then set in, becoming much stronger during the second half of this century. To-day most economists not only recognize that men must obey moral law in the production, distribution and consumption of wealth, but they also hold that moral science must penetrate economics, permeate it, and that the science must be constructed in the spirit of moral principles; in a word that economics must be ethical.[2] It is not unreasonable to hope that the day is not far distant when even theological data will be accepted in the study of economics. The services that each may render the other are admirably sketched in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII.

4. Natural and civil law are so intimately connected with moral science that they really seem like subdivisions of it. This is particularly the case with justice. Theologians have shown great depth of thought and breadth of view in their writings on law. The sixty-three questions of St. Thomas, the Septipertitum Opus of Conrad de Sumenhart, the ten books of Dominicus Soto, the works of Lessius, Peter of Arragon, Malderus, de Lugo, and the six folio volumes of Molina—remain the pride of the literature of theology and the wonder and admiration of the jurisconsult.

5. In the relations of Canon Law to Moral Theology, we find still closer union. In fact, we can hardly indicate the

[1] Cf. Brants, Ashley, Cunningham.

[2] Cf. Maurice Block, Les Progrès de la Science Economique depuis Adam Smith, Introd. 5.

lines of separation. Cardinal d'Annibale repeats what Melchior Cano said when he condemned as folly the study of Moral Theology without the assistance of canon law. The practical summas of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whether methodical or alphabetical, have a decided canonico-moral character. In fact, it is this very feature which constitutes the chief merit of such works as the Enchiridion of Navarrus, the De Matrimonio of Sanchez, the Theology of Layman.

6. Finally, the field of national and international politics must be considered as not foreign to Moral Theology. Works of splendid merit, viewed merely as studies in political science, have come from the pens of theologians; St. Thomas de Regimine, principum; Suarez, de Legibus and de Bello; Francis of Victoria, de Indis. As to the last named, a recent writer, unsuspected of any theological bias, says there is nothing else in the history of law to compare with it.[1]

III—Gradual Deviation.

The brief description which we have given of the character of Moral Theology, of its relations to the other religious, moral, and social sciences, and the partial enumeration of the masterpieces in theological literature, in which this character and the relations of our science appear, will serve to show that, at one time, Moral Theology held a place which comported in every way with its true nature and dignity. We have now to trace the successive steps in the process which led up to present conditions.

I. With the movement toward political secularization, there has existed a parallel movement of secularization in the world of science. Commencing about the end of the thirteenth century, the double movement developed in strength rapidly during Reformation times, reaching its greatest proportions during the Revolution and the period since then. At first, church and state separate; in the Reformation the church herself is divided; in the Revolution it is Christianity against Rationalism. When theology was expelled from the political world it began to lose contact with the other sciences. Finally

[1] Revue de droit international et de législation comparée. Tom. XV., pp. 195-199.

it was driven from the universities and relegated to the seminaries and sacristies. In a country as solidly Catholic as Belgium, the too exact application of the principle of separation of church and state excludes theology from every one of the state universities. Louvain alone—supported by the Catholics—can lay claim to the honor of fully representing the entire field of human knowledge. The same condition is found in France, with this anomaly added, however, that, having no faculty of Catholic theology, two or three universities have Protestant faculties.[1] Italy and Spain are in like condition, with the one difference, that there is no freedom of teaching, and hence no free Catholic university. It is hard to see how the sciences gained anything by this. Certain it is that theology has suffered. The Holy Father has frequently reverted to these conditions in the encyclicals, *Aeterni Patris*, *Sapientiae Christianae;* in his discourse of March 7, 1880, to the pilgrimage of savants at Rome, and in the encyclical to the Bishops of Spain, October 25, 1893. In the last named he says: "In iis rerum publicarum fluctibus, qui superiore atque hoc ipso volvente saeculo, totam perturbarunt Europam; quasi procelloso impetu dejecta atque stirpitus divulsa sunt instituta quibus ad fidei doctrinaeque incrementa condendis, regia simul et ecclesiastica potestas curas opesque contulerant. *Sublatis ita catholicis studiorum universitatibus earumque collegiis, ipsamet seminaria clericorum exaruere, sensim ea deficiente doctrinae copia quae ex magnis gymnasiis effluebat.*" As to Italy itself, theological schools are not lacking, particularly in Rome. But they are deprived of much of their power by the conditions which surround them. An eminent Catholic, Godefroid Kurth, uttered the following remarkable words at the Freiburg Congress: "Where is the Catholic science of Italy, where its higher schools, its institutes, its publications? Is Italy at the head of the Catholic scientific movement? Instead of teaching others, is she not obliged to learn from other nations how to defend the civil and social rights of Catholicity?"[2]

[1] There are, however, five free Catholic universities in France wherein Catholic faculties of theology exist.

[2] Rivista Internazionale. Art. by M. A. Ratti, Dec., 1898.; vol. xv., pp. 494-496. The Italian scholars present, hard as they found those words, admitted that there was some justification for them, that universities were needed, and that young men should be sought out and sent to study in foreign Catholic universities.

II. While theology in general was thus cut off from the other sciences, Moral Theology suffered further by being separated from theoretical or dogmatic theology. This stroke destroyed the organic unity between them, which is shown so admirably by St. Thomas. Solid grasp of the fundamental relations between the theoretical and the practical truths of revelation became difficult to obtain. The latter, detached from their real source and foundation, lost energy; the former, robbed of their legitimate fruit, lost vitality and influence. It is universally true that the progress of both sciences is in direct relation. The social and moral power of the priesthood is never greater than when the clergy has a solid dogmatic formation.[1] Logic and history clearly show that moral separated from dogma quickly becomes moral independent of dogma, and that this paves the way for moral without dogma and a religion purely ethical. It is a little surprising that some Catholics seem to ignore the dangers of separation, not alone for the sciences themselves, but as well for the formation of the clergy.[2]

III. Deprived of the influence which close association with dogma should exert, Moral Theology next saw inroads made into its own peculiar field. The laws of Christian perfection were taken over by ascetical theology; those of the religious life, largely by liturgical science; moral laws governing public life were given over to the science of law. The result was that certain modern errors were less clearly understood and hence less effectively opposed. We have an example in the error—I might almost say heresy—that political life is not to be regulated by Christian moral law, as is the life of the individual.[3]

IV. Moral Theology was consequently forced to confine itself to the laws of *private* life alone. Still the encroachments

[1] Non-Catholic writers do not seem to admit the close relation between ethics and dogma. In fact, the separation of the two is looked upon by some as a distinct advance. "The separation of theological ethics from theological dogmatics, made early in Reformation days, was one great step toward the constitution of our (moral) science; for a science of *agenda* is not a science of *credenda*." Alfred Cave, Introduction to Theology and its Literature, p. 562.

[2] Aubry, Les Grands Séminaires, C. XIII. Suggestive points of view are found in this work, though it is marked by some exaggeration and it shows a defective historico-literary knowledge.

[3] Cf., Leo XIII, Enc. *Immortale Dei.*

continued. Writers began to pass lightly over *principles;* they cared chiefly for *conclusions* and *applications*, or even opinions. The speculative and apologetical points of view had been forgotten. On the positive side many moralists of the last century attempted to study the tradition and evolution of the revealed truths underlying moral life, but the taint of Jansenism, which was discerned in their writings, materially injured them. The test of scholarship to-day seems to be the ability to collect opinions of the theologians of the last three centuries. Equal zeal is not shown, even for the decisions of synods or councils. The result is that while Moral Theology furnishes to the priest sufficient knowledge to administer the sacrament of penance, it is of little assistance to him in preaching.[1]

V. One might think that the end had been reached. Not yet, however. The development of pastoral theology and casuistry forced Moral Theology to a point where it is possible to present it in a handy volume of five hundred pages. Pastoral Theology has a respectable literature, especially in German, though by no means any abler than that of former times. Casuistry has become a lifeless form, intended principally for teaching; by no means as living and actual as are the Responses of Diana, de Lugo and so many others.

VI. This process has so far affected the teaching of Theology, that the different points of view of a question are treated in different courses and even by different professors. Thus the essential unity of science is destroyed, comprehensive views of questions are not obtained, a grasp of the whole field simply unthought of. Useless repetitions and unpardonable

[1] Mgr. Isoard, in his recent publication, *Si vous connaissiez le don de Dieu*, cites these words of an eminent writer (probably Taine): "J'ai voulu me rendre compte de ce qu'est aujourd'hui la religion, avant de me décider à faire élever mes enfants dans le Catholicisme. Dans ce but, j'ai écouté attentivement une vingtaine des sermons dans telle église (une des principales églises paroissiales de Paris); j'ai assurément entendu de bonnes choses, de bons conseils, mais rien qui fasse connaître la religion. On donnait des observations morales empruntées un peu partout, et même à votre serviteur. Mais du fond de la religion, des grands dogmes de la Bible, rien, absolument rien."

Whereupon the Bishop declares: "Nous tenons pour bien fondé son jugement sur l'enseignement donné habituellement dans nos églises. Le dogme n'est pas exposé; les vérités primordiales de la religion n'apparaissent qu'à de rares époques; ce qui est ordinaire, c'est de donner les conséquences morales de principes que l'on parait supposer connus, mais qui, en fait, sont ou mal compris, ou méconnus ou tout à fait ignorés." P. 47-49.

omissions occur. Not unfrequently, a professor will fail to treat a question which he wishes to avoid, referring his students to a colleague who is supposed to discuss it.[1] The writer of these pages studied the Sacraments in Dogmatic and Moral Theology, in Canon Law, Liturgy and Archæology. A course in Pastoral Theology was lacking to complete the list. He had previously studied them according to the method of St. Thomas and Suarez in one course and under one professor. Though abler men conducted the divided courses, much more profit was obtained in the latter.

VII. We referred above to the intimate relations between Moral Theology and the other social or normative sciences. These latter, originally contained in the former, have been differentiated from it gradually since the Reformation, and they have practically lost contact with the Gospel. Ethics was the first to be separated; natural law, economics and sociology followed in rapid succession.[2] Moralists soon lost the habit of studying questions belonging to those sciences, seeing no need of so doing, or fearing to encroach. At any rate, Moral Theology lost much of its influence and practical value by the process.

VIII. It may now serve our purpose to cast a glance over the recent literature of Moral Theology, and ascertain how far facts bear us out. Taking the logical order, we have, first, the general or fundamental part, corresponding to the Prima Secundae of St. Thomas.

The treatise on the destiny of man, which is the foundation of the science, is met only in exceptional cases. Yet, the pagan Cicero was keen-sighted enough to have seen the place of such a treatise in any system of morals. "Fine in moralibus constituto, constituta sunt omnia." The study of human acts, despoiled of its ontological, psychological and supernatural portion, is so incomplete that many moral questions remain in perpetual obscurity. Hence the welcome we gave the

[1] Suarez has remarked this. In writing on Faith, wishing to speak of the dona and gratiae intellectuales, he says: "Tractavit de hisce donis sanctus Thomas, secunda secundae variis in locis; sed operae pretium est de omnibus junctim agere, tum *brevitatis* ac *perspicuitatis* causa, tum quia dum ad alia loca remittuntur, prorsus omittuntur; adeo ut praeter Divum Thomam, nihil fere de his tractatum sit a Theologis, cum haec scribimus." De Fide. Disp. VIII. Intr.

[2] Cf., Theod. Meyer, *Inst. Juris Nat. Proem.*

work of Father Frins, S. J., in which he seeks to remedy some of the evils of this condition.[1] The treatise on the passions, to which St. Thomas gives twenty-seven questions in the Summa, never appears. Reference is made to them in the article on Concupiscence. Nothing is written on habits. In the treatise on Laws, the essential theological portion regarding the Law of God is very often neglected. The external canonical character is most insisted upon, while the obligation of civil law is studied in a superficial manner. The study of conscience is reduced to a minimum and then literally absorbed into the question of probabilism or aequiprobabilism. Finally the virtues, vices and sin are incompletely studied. As far as studied, they are superficially treated or reduced to pure casuistry. It is to be hoped that the recent letter of the Holy Father will call attention to this neglect of the study of the virtues, and bring about a more thorough manner of treating them.

That portion of our literature which corresponds to the Secunda Secundae of St. Thomas is not any more satisfactory. The treatise on the theological virtues is without doubt the most difficult and important in the science. They are the alpha and omega of Christian life. Only in their exercise does man strike his true attitude to God, who is his destiny, and to Christ, who is the way. Intellectual perfection is reached in faith, moral perfection attained in hope and charity. Thus the theological virtues give to Christian ethics its distinctive character and its mark of superiority over every other system of moral science. This has been recognized. The literature of the theological virtues is characterized by the abundance of masterly treatises which have appeared. And yet, in our manuals the whole field is covered in fifty pages; twenty given to Faith, two or three to Hope, and the rest to Charity. The more difficult questions, if not entirely omitted, are but indicated. It may be objected that those questions are treated elsewhere. Granted, they are not in their proper place and this is a serious error. But again, are they suf-

[1] *De actibus humanis, ontologice, psychologice consideratis seu disquisitiones psychologicae theologicae de voluntate in ordine ad mores.*

ficiently studied? Where, for instance, do we find Faith discussed in its true character as the door to the whole edifice of Theology? Theology is, after all, but the science of Faith. We do not find it represented as the centre of apologetics—its guiding star—as the bond uniting into one system of thought and demonstration, the Præambula Fidei, the argument of Faith, the Church and its magisterium, tradition, Scripture, and inspiration. It seems that the utter failure of many attempts at so-called modern apologetics is due to the absence of a thorough and profound understanding of the rôle of Faith. The same may be observed with regard to Charity. Its real character as the source and queen of virtues, as the fulfilling of the law, as central in justification and reconciliation, merit and good works, is not by any means properly brought out.

A first glance seems to show that the cardinal virtues have fared better. Yet inspection reveals that Prudence and Fortitude have little place in our literature. We know of but one work wherein they are treated with any care. It is from the pen of the learned Bishop of Bruges.[1] Temperance is studied piecemeal. Justice has fared better. We have extensive treatises on it by Carriere and Crolly, and some special works of a high order by Marres, Waffelaert, Schwane. The sections devoted to Justice in our manuals is proportionately large—maybe three hundred pages. Yet, strange to say, it is about the treatise on justice that Cardinal d'Annibale complained in the citation made a moment ago. As to the higher virtues, and the evangelical counsels, while not entirely neglected, the studies made in them have been canonical rather than theological. None of them approach the last twenty questions of the Secunda Secundæ. This may account for the indifference to religious life which we so frequently find.

Some of the sacraments have a rich and comprehensive literature, particularly the Eucharist, Penance, Matrimony. The other sacraments are neglected, in particular, Baptism and Orders—both of which enter directly into the essential idea of the Church.

[1] De prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia.

IV.—Causes and Remedies.

The causes which have led to this condition are varied and complex. To state them adequately would require a summary of some centuries of history. They are political, social and religious, literary and academic, general and particular, universal and local. Nearly all, if not all, have been hinted at in the preceding pages. If we enumerate them here, it is merely to bring them out more clearly and to so grasp them that their character may be more correctly appreciated.

1. The vicissitudes to which the Church has been subjected during the last two centuries; revolutions and uprisings in France, Spain, Portugal and Italy; persecutions in Switzerland, Germany and Russia; the suppression or secularization of universities, confiscation of ecclesiastical properties and benefices which had enabled so many priests to devote themselves to study, whereas nowadays they are forced into a busy ministry in order to obtain means of life; suppression and expulsion of religious orders; destruction and scattering of libraries. No one can measure the influence that such a course of events had on the development of Christian Catholic science.

2. The weakening, if not decadence, of certain nations which formerly stood at the front in Catholic science. In saying this, we think of Spain, which in the Middle Ages led nearly all nations in juridico-moral studies,[1] and in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, certainly led the world in Catholic science. From the close of the Council of Trent to 1663 Spain produced nearly four hundred theologians, historians and canonists (mystic theologians not included), of whom fifty were of the highest order. During the succeeding century, 1663 to 1763, we find only two hundred and fifty, of whom but twelve are of the first class; from 1764 to 1869 we find but ninety, and only three or four are really eminent. The condition is equally striking in Portugal. The contributions of Ireland, England and Scotland to theology have been very limited, for reasons which every one knows; Poland and Hungary are equally destitute of a theological literature. During the last century and the first half of this one, Belgium showed

[1] Cf. E. Nys, *Les origines du droit international.* Bruxelles, 1894.

but little vitality. In the seventeenth century, the intellectual supremacy of Spain passed over to France. The remarkable fecundity of France, particularly in works of erudition and in eloquence, is well known. Yet she never produced a school of great thinkers in juridical or moral science. Italy showed some vigor up to a century ago, but since then she has done but little. To-day, Germany is in the lead, particularly in philological, exegetical, historical and critical studies, though probably less has been done there for Christian ethics than in France. Spain's once proud place has not yet been filled. Resurgat.[1]

3. The Reformation, Jansenism and Rationalism caused the creation of forms of polemical literature which broke the unity and harmony of theological science. New treatises bearing on points of controversy appeared; older studies were recast to meet new issues; general questions were treated in part as the exigencies of the case required. Viewed in itself, this work was admirably done—superb treatises were produced. But the perspective of theological science was disturbed; secondary questions received undue prominence; parts replaced the whole. The synthesis had been destroyed and proportion, order and balance among the parts of theological science has not even yet been restored. Moral Theology was a victim of these circumstances. Attention was turned from it; it appeared to be merely a secondary division of theology, just as to-day dogmatic, speculative and moral theology are outranked by historical sciences and theological exegesis is being replaced by purely critical studies.

4. The gradual neglect of the Summa of St. Thomas has harmed Moral Theology. After the sixteenth century, two or three professors were occupied in expounding the Summa in the chief centres of learning. When there were three, each took a part of the Summa, to which four years were devoted; if there were but two, the Secunda Secundæ was divided between them. By this arrangement, students had an incomparable text-book, and a careful complete exposition of the portion devoted to Moral Theology as well as of the other parts.

[1] Comparative tables of greatest interest may be found in Hurter's Nomenclator.

At the same time, a practical course on cases of conscience was given, which lasted two years at least. When later, independent treatises were substituted for the text of St. Thomas, the second part of the Summa was replaced by the course on cases of conscience, excepting the questions of the Prima Secundae on grace and some questions of the Secunda Secundae regarding the rule of faith. Hence the manuals of Moral Theology, of which Busenbaum's Medulla is the type, differ so much in amplitude and erudition from the works of Franzelin and Palmieri, or of Sardagna and Perrone. The University of Louvain is probably the only university which has retained the Summa of St. Thomas as the text-book in Moral Theology.

5. The separation of Moral Theology from dogma, and the exodus of the various portions of our science which followed upon the surrender of the Summa of St. Thomas where all is unity, caused a further weakening. The French writer whom we have cited, attributes this to Gallicanism and Jansenism. But an honest view of the teaching, literature and doctrines of Theology effectually disposes of that theory. The same movement is to be found in Spain and Italy, possibly more marked than in the countries where Gallicanism and Jansenism had their strongholds. Then again, the writer in question seems to be in error in his statements bearing on the French writers of the seventeenth century. He attributes to them the doctrinal separation of Moral from Dogma, no less than the pedagogic and academic separation. He finds in the works of Berulle, Condren, Olier, Tronson and Fénelon, and even in Bossuet, a vague, indefinite moral founded on *sentiment* rather than *dogma*. He even goes so far as to think one can find in many modern works the very formulas of the propositions of Molinos asserting the independence of moral and devotion from the principles of Theology and the direction of the Church.[1]

[1] Aubry, Les grands séminaires, Essai sur la methode des êtudes ecclésiastiques en France, pp. 357 ff. Another recent writer, whom no one will suspect of anti-gallican exaggeration, declares: "Je me charge de trouver, dans beaucoup d'ouvrages de piété modernes, des erreurs condannées par l'Eglise. Je dis cela même de ceux écrits par des prêtres, mais surtout de ceux (et ils abondent) écrits par des femmes. Et que dire des entretiens spirituels de supérieurs de communautés, qui tirent toute leur théologie d'écrivains protestants." *Bossuet et le Jansénisme; notes historiques; publiées* par A. M. P. Ingold.

6. The tendency to separate principles from their application is well expressed in the familiar proverb, Praxis differt a speculatione. Taken to imply the need of prudence and tact in applying principles, the statement is perfectly correct. But when it is made to mean that correct theory may be inapplicable, that a practice may be lawful without regard to theory, that practice is opposed to theory, or that the study of principles is good for science and useless for practice, nothing could be more absurd in itself or more harmful to science. If practice differs from principle, the latter is false or the former is wrong—there is no escape. We merely wish to say, apropos of this point, that too many theologians have been so narrow in the exposition of principles that a reasonable application has often been out of the question.[1] In a similar way many writers are broad in questions of faith and tendency in doctrine, yet extremely narrow, not in the first principles of moral science but in their secondary applications.

7. The intense controversies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did incalculable harm to Moral Theology. There were two great tendencies which struggled for mastery; one broad or lax, the other narrow or more rigorous. We would call them minimist and maximist nowadays. They existed before Jansenism, which was in reality only a form of one of them. Naturally the two tendencies expressed themselves in the literature of Moral Theology and Devotion to which they gave rise, and they called forth a double series of propositions condemned by the Holy See. The controversy caused more obscurity, gave birth to a lassitude and distaste for Moral Theology which have had an enduring effect.[2]

8. The principle of probabilism—perfectly true in itself when rightly understood—has been a source of injury to our science. Taking it for granted that it is licit to follow a solidly probable opinion, and that a law merely probable cannot be strictly enforced, theologians have seemed to busy themselves

[1] See the dissertation of the Bishop of Bruges, De dubio solvendo in re morali, p. 203.

[2] Concina in his *Historia Probabilismi*, and Döllinger and Reusch in their *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten*, give some account of these controversies; an impartial history of them has yet to be written.

about the probability of opinions rather than about the search for truth. Hence the number of problems whose scientific solutions are not considered of much importance or sought with much zeal, since contradictory probable opinions are accepted. We could give an almost endless list of problems, in the solution of which there has been no advance for two centuries, and no attempt at anything new is being made. One would almost think that we had fallen into skepticism or that we are afraid of the truth. This is particularly the case where an opinion is recognized as probable by a high authority.[1]

9. The abuse of an essentially Catholic practice has caused damage to Moral Theology. It is that of recurring to the Roman Congregations for decisions when there is no necessity whatever for so doing. Fortunately enough, the Congregations seem to appreciate the situation justly when their replies are in the familiar form, "Consulat probatos auctores." But when the reply is "non sunt inquietandi," not only are the petitioners satisfied, but further research in the cause of truth is deemed unnecessary. We have not had a single new and profound study of usury in half a century, notwithstanding the prominence into which the socialists have drawn the question.[2]

It has been well said that a science may not be stationary. It must develop or suffer gradual extinction. Moral Theology must obey that law or undergo the penalty. Many think, with Cardinal d'Annibale, that it is in a state of stagnation or even torpidity. But it can be re-established where it belongs. Many agencies must contribute, however, before that can be done. By the philosophy of St. Thomas the law of morals, as well as of faith, to use St. Augustine's words, gignitur, nutritur, defenditur, roboratur. A more intimate union with the theoretical truths of revelation is necessary, so that the laws of right living may be seen to spring from the very heart of dogma. Critical study and extended research into the development of

[1] Mgr. Isoard in *Le système du moins possible* ascribes the minimizing tendency of the day to the influence of Probabilism. This view we are unable to accept.

[2] In his *Nouveau dire sur le système du moins possible* (Paris, 1898), Mgr. Isoard also, though from a different point of view, criticises the practice of perpetual interrogation. See p. 60.

the fundamental ideas and principles of moral life and their application, not alone in Christian times, but in Old Testament times as well and back to the beginning of humanity, must be made. The intelligent application of these principles to the problems of modern individual, social, religious and civil life is essential to the re-establishment which we seek, as is also a more constant contact with the other social sciences from which, rightly understood, only good can come. There is reason to hope that the coming century will see this done, for the impetus has already been given in the admirable encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII.

TH. BOUQUILLON.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SCRIPTURE.

Nouvelles Etudes sur la Restauration Juive Après l'Exile de Babylone. A. Van Hoonacker; pp. 312; 1896.

This is a remarkably original and thoroughly critical work by the Professor of Exegesis at the University of Louvain. Like all else that has come from his pen, this last volume is characterized by extensive learning and careful personal research. It has already attracted much attention by the novelty of the thesis, by the solidity of the position taken, by the scientific method followed, and by the author's critical acumen.

It is no exaggeration to say that we have in this volume one of the most fruitful results of higher biblical criticism that has appeared for some time. Whatever else criticism does, it at least arouses interest, and sometimes even a little controversy; but anything is better than stagnation. Dr. Van Hoonacker has chosen as the field of his special study and as the theme of his numerous dissertations the period of the Restoration of the Jewish Commonwealth after the return of the exiles from the Babylonian Captivity. Chiefly through his writings this has become one of the most interesting epochs in the Old Testament history.

It has long been felt that something should be done to co-ordinate the facts related in the two books of Esdras and Nehemias and to harmonize them with the history of some of the neighboring contemporary nations, especially the Persians. However, no one has ever made the attempt without soon feeling obliged, in the midst of his labors, to regret the present condition of the sacred text of these books, the meagerness of the historical data, the absence of chronological sequence, the important lacunae, the sudden breaks, the unexpected transitions, and the many passages "that have been inverted, truncated, transposed, mutilated, or entirely omitted." This is true especially of the first six chapters of Esdras, where the uncertainty is so perplexing that, for some critics, the Artaxerxes of Esdras and Nehemias is Artaxerxes I; for others it is Artaxerxes II, and for others again it is Artaxerxes III.

Such being the case, Dr. Van Hoonacker is convinced that he is quite justified in adding yet one more to the already long category of hypotheses advanced to throw light on the text. Accordingly, in his brochure enti-

tled "Néhémie et Esdras"[1] he begins by establishing the precedence, both in time and in importance, of Nehemias over Esdras. It is true that in our Bibles the book of Esdras comes first and the book of Nehemias comes second in order. For no other reason than because of this arrangement many have inferred that these two men must have lived in the same order. Hence, as a matter of course, it was quietly taken for granted that Esdras, with his caravan of returning exiles, arrived in Palestine many years before Nehemias, but yet that both held their authority from the same king of Persia.

But Dr. Van Hoonacker reverses this order and contends that Nehemias was the first on the spot; that he took charge in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I, and that on his death or retirement Esdras succeeded him in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II. Accordingly it is Nehemias who, on his arrival in the Holy City, finds everything in confusion and the people humiliated by their neighbors. It is Nehemias who takes three days to study the situation; who goes around inside, outside the city at night; who assigns to each group of inhabitants their share of the work of reconstructing the walls of the city; who took the first step against mixed marriages; who had the priests read the law to the people in public; who induced the people to confess their sins before the Lord, and who made them promise to observe the Law of Moses and to sign a new covenant with the Lord their God. Not Esdras, therefore, but Nehemias is the hero of that epoch; who rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem; who makes it the stronghold of the nation; who restores public worship, and becomes the real founder of the subsequent Jewish commonwealth. He was the strong, unflinching, uncompromising leader of the people, and as long as he lived Esdras was merely one of his many very pliant instruments for good,—the scribe, the reader, the priest, the interpreter of the law, but not the ruler, not the governor of the nation.

Yet Jewish tradition makes Esdras overshadow every one else at that time, and goes so far as to represent him as a second Moses who republished and even rewrote the Pentateuch; and several of the Fathers and many modern theologians have been induced by this Jewish tradition to adopt the same opinion and to exaggerate beyond measure the rôle played by this good man in the restoration of the Jewish Church and State. Also many critics of rationalistic tendencies have taken advantage of this exaggerated importance of Esdras, in order to ascribe to him the composition of the "Sacerdotal Code," which, they say, forms a very large portion of the Pentateuch, as we now have it, and to maintain the very late date of all the other parts of the same book. Dr. Van Hoonacker, by his hypothesis, takes the ground from under their feet; for,

[1] Louvain, J. B. Istas, 1890, pp. 85.

while the part played by Esdras is every way worthy of a good man, he certainly was not such a man as could have written the Pentateuch and imposed it on the Jewish people as the genuine work of Moses.

If there is any period in the pre-Christian history of the Jews that one would think ought to be accurately known, it is precisely the period of the reconstruction of the second Temple under Zorobabel. It was an historical period; it was relatively near to the Christian era, and the rebuilding of the Temple was an event of prime importance to the Jewish Church and nation, an event, moreover, which the books of Nehemias and Esdras would seem to express the intention of relating in all its many details. In proof of this apparent purpose to relate all the facts in the case, these books give us many dates, at first sight very circumstantial, together with the proper names of the principal personages concerned, and an itemized account of what was done, how it was done, why it was done, and by whom it was done. And yet, strange as it may appear, some of the most important details are omitted, and our path is beset with uncertainty at every step. The result is that honest critics are not agreed whether the foundation of the second Temple was laid in the reign of Cyrus or the reign of Darius; nor whether the Temple was completed under Darius, the son of Hystaspes, or under Darius II. In the midst of so much confusion, Dr. Van Hoonacker undertakes to introduce some harmony into the general chaos, which he does in a carefully written brochure entitled "Zorobabel et Le Second Temple."[1]

Abram Kuenen, Professor at the University of Leyden, having called in question some of Dr. Van Hoonacker's conclusions, the latter replied in a third volume, entitled "Néhémie en l'an 20 d'Artaxerxes I; Esdras en l'an 7 d'Artaxerxes II."[2]

Professor Kosters, successor to Dr. Kuenen, acknowledges that Dr. Van Hoonacker is right in demanding a readjustment of the chronology of the history of the Jewish restoration, but takes exception to some of the details of his work. The volume which we are now reviewing is Dr. Van Hoonacker's rejoinder, and was primarily, not as a resumé, but as a supplement to his former writings on the same topic (general). After a brief review of the points already discussed, the author gives us in full the history of the rebuilding of the second Temple under Zorobabel, and establishes the chronological order of the events of that whole period. Nehemias, he thinks, reached Jerusalem about B. C. 445, and Esdras arrived about B. C. 398. Father Lagrange, Superior of the School of Biblical Sciences at St. Stephen's, Jerusalem, in an article published in the *Revue Biblique*, admits Dr. Van Hoonacker's principal thesis, that

[1] Gand et Leipzig, H. Engelcke, 1892; pp. 118.
[2] Ib. 1892, pp. 90.

Nehemias preceded Esdras in point of time and importance; but he would place the return of Nehemias in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes II, about B. C. 385, and the return of Esdras in the seventh year of Artaxerxes III, about B. C. 351. After an amicable exchange of views in the pages of the *Revue Biblique*, during which, strange to say, neither accused the other of heresy, Dr. Van Hoonacker has continued to pay special attention to this epoch in Jewish history, with the present volume as the result, and Father Lagrange has subsequently been convinced that Dr. Van Hoonacker is right.[1]

Dr. Van Hoonacker, like Father Lagrange, is thoroughly conversant with the methods of modern biblical critics, and in the many tilts which he has had with such men as Kuenen, Kosters and Wellhausen, he has more than held his own,—he has sometimes driven them from the field. His last volume is an excellent example of the advanced, yet staunchly Catholic, biblical scholarship of our day. In this matter he has done what the Sovereign Pontiff says that Catholic exegetes should do,—"lead, not follow." Though comparatively a young man, he has done more in the last decade than dozens of older men who still continue to thresh out old straw, whereas he has gone out into the abundant harvest field and gathered in the rich sheaves.

Dr. Van Hoonacker, among Catholic exegetes, belongs neither to the left nor to the right nor to the center party; he belongs neither to the narrow gauge nor to the broad gauge school; he belongs to a small class of workers, and is Catholic pure and simple.

Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments; Dr. Franz Kaulen. Erster Theil; Vierte, verbesserte Auflage. Herder, Freiburg, 1898.

This work has been many years before the learned world, and more than any other has been in use in the universities and theological seminaries ever since its first publication. By successive revisions, like the present, it is made to reflect the results of the most approved scholarship. It is a worthy companion to the other learned works that go to make up Herder's "Theologische Bibliothek." This Introduction is intended primarily as a text-book for theological students, as well as a work of reference for the clergy and for the educated laity generally.

After a few pages of preliminary remarks on the nature, scope, and sources of Biblical Science, the author divides this first volume of his Introduction into two parts. The first, which is fundamental (Grundlegender Theil), discusses the inspiration and the Canon of both Testaments. As to the first, the only theory of inspiration that the author

[1] *Revue Biblique*, January, 1899, p. 162.

expressly rejects is the one which the Council of the Vatican also rejects —the theory of subsequent divine approval. The question of the Canon of both Testaments is handled both dogmatically and historically, and the declaration of the Church interpreting divine ecclesiastical tradition is proved to be the only adequate means of knowing which books are inspired and canonical and which are not.

In Old Testament times additions were made to the Canon from time to time by the competent authority, according as books recognized as divine in origin were presented for insertion on the catalogue of sacred books. Therefore, the tradition of the Jews and the opinion of so many Protestants that Ezra or the "Great Synagogue" formally and forever closed the Canon of the Old Testament must be rejected as void of all historical basis, else books written subsequently to their time never would have been admitted to the Canon, nor would the Jews in the first century before and after Christ have debated whether or not they should reject from the Canon such books as Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, Esther, and Ecclesiastes. Dr. Kaulen argues that men who are capable of deliberating whether they should reject such books were also capable of rejecting, and did actually reject from the Palestinian Canon, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Maccabees, and all the other Deutero-Canonical books and fragments of the Catholic Bible. This opinion, which has always been repudiated by nearly all Protestants and by not a few Catholics, has recently received confirmation from an unexpected non-Catholic quarter.

The second part of this volume which is general (Allgemeiner Theil), is devoted to a thorough discussion of the languages, texts, and principal ancient versions of Scripture. It has always been remarked that there is a very close resemblance between the language used in the Pentateuch and that found in the Hebrew books written presumably a thousand years later. But in so long a stretch of time the Hebrew, like any other language, should have undergone more considerable changes in orthography, grammar, and syntax than are apparent between those books. How, then, is this resemblance to be explained? Dr. Kaulen frankly admits that we do not possess the Pentateuch in its absolutely original linguistic form. Books like the Pentateuch, which have been intimately identified with the life of a people, are often made to conform somewhat to the language of each period through which they live; in other words, such books are successively retouched and insensibly remodeled in the direction of the language prevalent at the different periods in the history of the books. Such books are, as it were, unconsciously translated into the current language, and thus imperceptibly lose many of their archaic and obsolete peculiarities. We have an instance of this in the poems of Homer, which

did not proceed from the pen or from the tongue of the blind bard in precisely the same form in which we now possess them, but were gradually assimilated to the style of each age, and received their present shape chiefly at the hands of the Alexandrine philologists. Another instance is Luther's translation of the Bible, which has gone through all the orthographical and grammatical changes that the German language itself has experienced since the days of Luther. So, too, our English versions, as well as the Reinêke Fuchs in German and the works of Shakespeare in English. But, of course, the modifications here referred to affect not the substance, but only some few of the accidentals of style.

Our author also makes full acknowledgment of the liberties taken with the sacred text by transcribers, whether designedly or undesignedly, and describes the means subsequently adopted to correct some of those mistakes and to prevent them for the future. He is particularly exhaustive in his treatment of the Greek and Latin versions, especially the Septuagint and the Vulgate. One desirable feature of his work is that he discusses, though, of course, not so fully as in his "Geschichte der Vulgata," the value and the meaning of the decree of the Council of Trent, which declares the Vulgate "authentic," and he points out in what sense it is authentic, and in what sense it is not authentic. The merits of the Vulgate have been so extravagantly minimized by some, and so extravagantly exaggerated by others, that it is a pleasure to find a man who is so sure of his position as not to be afraid to place the Vulgate upon its proper basis. All this is done with a sufficient abundance of detail to meet the requirements of the ordinary theological student, and far more fully than is done in most manuals of Introduction.

This work, when completed, will make a huge volume of about seven hundred large, closely printed pages. It is in every sense a model text-book. The style is concise, the construction remarkably simple, and the method of exposition so clear and so direct that the reader is never left in doubt as to the meaning. The author is very well informed about the latest results of critical scholarship, especially in higher and textual criticism. At the same time this is one of the safest manuals that could be placed in the hands of the young theological student. For critical acumen, for breadth of view, for philological equipment, for solid and extensive learning, and (what is most desirable in a text-book) for staunch Catholic principles, it is most commendable. Dr. Kaulen is one of the foremost scholars of the day, and deserves to be what he is,—the successor to Cardinal Hergenröther in the editorship of Herder's "Kirchen-Lexikon," a work which represents, on all theological subjects, the ripest scholarship of Catholic Germany.

"Questions Bibliques," extracted from the works of the Abbé de Broglie by the Abbé C. Piat. Lecoffre, Paris, 1897.

The Abbé de Broglie, whose tragic death was the cause of the most profound grief to his countless friends in France, was alike distinguished for his noble birth, for his active charities, for the modesty and simplicity of his bearing, and for his extensive learning. His many admirers will be happy to read this volume, which is largely composed of extracts from his numerous inedited works. As is well known, the author wrote, according to the needs of the actual controversies of the day, a quantity of notes, studies, articles and brochures on a great variety of topics; all, however, bearing on the general theme of Apologetics. Naturally, one only thought dominated and connected all into one whole in his own mind; only, from the nature of the circumstances, that thought could not be apparent to the reader. M. Piat, a personal friend, learned from the author himself that central thought, and has grouped around it all the apparently disjointed fragments that abound in his works. The result is a very readable and instructive book.

M. de Broglie was an Apologist, and his purpose in this volume is to harmonize the traditional teaching of the Church with the well-ascertained results of the newer school of Criticism. But two difficulties beset his path; the one to determine precisely what is the import of this traditional teaching, and the other, to decide what are the well-ascertained conclusions of criticism, in so far as they regard the Pentateuch and the Prophets of the Old Testament.

In the first part of the volume the author shows that the chief source of error on the part of the critics is their philosophical prejudice against the possibility of the whole supernatural order in general and their denial of the peculiarly supernatural character of the Hebrew nation. These preconceived notions he vigorously refutes. In the second part the author discusses and rejects some of the modern theories concerning the mode and date of composition of the Pentateuch, and the degree of civilization of the Israelites at the time of the Exodus.

In the third part he shows how impossible it is to explain the Old Testament, unless we admit in it the presence of real Messianic Prophecies,—thoroughly supernatural in origin and character. The work ends with a chapter on the "Triumph of Monotheism."

EDUCATION.

1. **Directoire de l'Enseignement Religieux** dans les Maisons d'Education,—Organisation, Méthodes, Qualités du Professeur, Appendice Bibliographique; 2 vols., 8°, pp. 479–324. Paris: Delhomme et Briguet, 1899.
2. **Christian Education in the Dark Ages,** Rev. Eugene Magevney, S. J. Pedagogical Truth Library, Cathedral Library Association, New York, 1899.
3. **Why, When, How, and What We Ought to Read,** by Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O. P. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co., 1898; 8°, pp. 135.
4. **The Catechism of Rodez, Explained in Form of Sermons,** translated from the French by Rev John Thein. Herder, St. Louis, 1898; pp. 528.

1. These two volumes treat of the duties of ecclesiastics called to teach French youth in educational institutions. The first treats of the object of religious teaching, Christian doctrine and apologetics, the beliefs and history of the Christian Church. Considerations are added on the details of teaching,—time, place, distribution of classes,—and on the method to be followed,—the preparation of the professor, the nature of the questions, proofs and objections, the use of manuals, the stimulation of personal research, and some practical means of interesting the students. In the second volume useful and edifying instruction is given as to the development of knowledge, piety and zeal in the teaching ecclesiastic. Altogether, the book is well calculated to encourage the love of study. A brief bibliography of French works suitable for a teacher's library may be consulted with profit. The book suffers from a certain diffuseness.

2. In this reprint of a magazine article, Father Magevney offers a brief summary of the channels and spirit of Christian education in the early Middle Ages. The picture is drawn with fairness and moderation, and may well be recommended to non-Catholics, whose views on the history of pedagogics are too often drawn from prejudiced sources. It should be read in connection with the admirable studies of Brother Azarias.

3. Good advice as to reading never comes amiss,—hence, these notes of Father O'Neil are destined to be helpful to many. They are written with feeling and discretion, and we wish them a very wide audience.

4. Faith and the Creed, Hope and Prayer, Charity and the Commandments of God and the Church, Grace and the Sacraments, are the rubrics under which the Abbé Luche has compressed the religious teaching of the very popular French Catechism of Rodez. Father Thein presents us an English translation from the fourteenth French edition. The work contains what is rightly styled "a clear, methodical and well-considered exposition of the dogmatical and moral truths of religion," and is otherwise recommendable for its brevity and succinctness.

HISTORY AND POLITICS.

1. **Prehistoric Art,** or the Origin of Art as Manifested in the Works of Prehistoric Man, by Thomas Wilson, Curator, Division of Prehistoric Archæology, U. S. National Museum, Washington: Government Printing Office. 1898. Pp. 336.

2. **L'Annee de l' Eglise 1898,** par Ch. Egremont, Premièrè Annèe: Paris, V. Lecoffre. 1899. Pp. 509.

3. **The Referendum in Switzerland,** by Simon Deploige, Advocate, translated into English by C. P. Trevelyan, M. A., and edited with notes, introduction, and appendices by Lilian Tomm: Longmans, Green, & Co., London and New York, 1898. Pp. lxix–334.

4. **Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1897.** Washington: Government Printing Office. 1898. Pp. 1272.

5. **Les Villes Antiques.**—Rome, Athènes, Carthage, Jerusalem, Restauration Archéologique par Paul Aucler. Paris: Charles Delagrave, 1899.

1. Mr. Wilson is an indefatigable worker in the pre-historic field. In the present volume he offers us an account of the first artistic gropings of man in the paleolithic and neolithic periods. Rude engravings of animals on bone, horn, ivory, or stone, testify everywhere to an innate instinct for artistic expression that is especially noticeable in the neolithic time, with its drilled pipes and tubes, polished hatchets, pottery, bronze, gold, silver, and lapidary work. Extremely valuable is the section devoted to pre-historic musical instruments in Europe, Asia, Africa, and especially America, North and South. Horns, bells, rattles, trumpets, drums, whistles, pan-pipes, of bronze or gold or clay, are here collected and studied with scientific precision, making a first chapter in the history of music of surpassing charm. There are 325 illustrations, many of them rare, and most of them from the collections of the National Museum at Washington. Especially noteworthy is the account (pp. 482-83) of the (Louvre) bronze head supposed by some to be of Roman workmanship, about 100 B. C., and to represent a North American Indian, perhaps referred to by Pomponius Mela (De Chorographia, III. 5, 45) and Pliny the Younger (Hist. Nat. II. 67) where it is question of "Indos quosdam" cast away on the coast of Germany, and given by the King of the Suevi to Q. Metellus Celer (died B. C. 59). The resemblance to the Red Man as exhibited in the Catlin Gallery is most striking. The crouching lions (p. 485) cut out of the solid out-cropping rock west of the Rio Grande, in the country of the Cochitanos, are also

worthy of attention. So, too, are the thin copper plates from the Hopewell Mound, Ross County, Ohio, on which are seen the Swastika Cross and the Fish. Indeed, every page and every illustration of this valuable work have a more than ordinary fascination.

2. Something like the *Statesman's Year-Book* was very badly needed in the field of ecclesiastical history. In this publication M. Egremont undertakes an annual summary of all the important happenings of Catholic interest throughout the world. It corresponds to such useful guides as the *Anneé Politique*, the *Anneé Scientifique*, etc., and is sure to win a great many readers. We are all interested deeply in whatever touches the Catholic Church throughout the world, and here we may obtain just that bird's-eye view which busy workers seek for. Of the 508 pages 25 are given to the United States, and they are written with fairness and sympathy. We bespeak for this undertaking of the Maison Lecoffre an immediate success.

3. This work appeared originally in French. The Author, who is a professor in the University of Louvain, wrote it at a time when the Referendum was a living question in Belgium. He rightly believed that a careful examination of the institution as it operates in Switzerland would throw considerable light on the discussion in his own country. Now that the general question of direct legislation is becoming one of practical politics, there is a demand for information on the workings of the Referendum. This translation of Professor Deploige's work is, therefore, a real service to the English-speaking student of politics. The translation is accompanied by a valuable introduction from the pen of Lilian Tomm, and by a critical letter of great merit on the Referendum in Belgium by Professor Van den Heuvel of the University of Louvain. We commend the work earnestly to those interested in American politics. Direct legislation is a principle of our state life, as is shown by the town meeting, the vote of the people on amendments to constitutions, and on many specific questions, the demands of labor unions and of the populist party.

The appeal to direct legislation is, in a way, the logical result of the failure of representative government to represent the people. The conviction is rapidly growing in the United States that such is the case, hence we may expect to see the movement in favor of the Initiative and Referendum take on considerable proportions in the near future. Professor Deploige's lucid study of the question in Switzerland will be valuable for us in America, for we have as yet seen the principle of direct legislation applied only in a limited way.

4. The most important of the numerous historical papers contained in these proceedings of the American Historical Association for 1897 is the

"Bibliography of Alabama," by Thomas M. Owen (pp. 777–1248). If every State had such a list the work of historical research would be greatly aided. Other papers of value are: "The Protestant Revolution in Maryland," by Bernard C. Steiner (pp. 279–355); "European Blue Laws," by John Martin Vincent (pp. 355–373); the "Second Annual Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission" (pp. 397–681), and "Some of the Consequences of the Louisiana Purchase," by Samuel M. Davis (pp. 149–161).

5. These little brochures seem to meet a real need,—some succinct account of the result of the modern excavations on the sites of ancient cities. M. Aucler presents archæological maps of Rome, Athens, Carthage and Jerusalem, made from the latest labors of scholars and excavators. In each case there are added accounts of the original documents on which are based the restorations in the maps, indications of the works that contain the results of excavations and reconstructions, explanations of controverted or important points, and indexes of the monuments referred to in the maps. From thirty to fifty pages of small octavo suffice to bring all necessary old and new knowledge before us,—henceforth these scientific booklets are really indispensable to those who cannot follow the difficult and technical literature of modern restorations of ancient cities.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Institutiones Theologicae de Sacramentis Ecclesiae. Auctore J. B. Sasse, S. J., 2 vols.: Herder, St. Louis. 1898.

Shortly after the appearance of the first volume of this work already reviewed in our pages, Father Sasse, its author, fell seriously ill and died, leaving to other hands the completion of his labors. This second volume, companion to the first, was edited by Father Lehmkul. The deceased author had left the greater part of his work in manuscript, ready for publication. What he had not thus immediately prepared for the press was reconstructed from the notes which he had compiled for the purpose of teaching; so that the editor, as far as possible, presents us with the work of the author, embellished by the explanatory footnotes and additions of his own. This second volume bears the character of the first in all respects. It deals with Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony, besides setting forth the doctrine of Indulgence as an appendix to the treatment of the Sacrament of Penance. The doctrine is clearly set forth and references to the Fathers are numerous and pertinent. In fact, the author never neglects the positive side of his treatise, as the erudition displayed throughout the work goes to prove. The opinions of theologians are quoted and given due con-

sideration, so that a student applying himself to the study of the various questions treated by the author is furnished with no meagre literature. A more expansive discussion of certain points is indeed desirable, but the author has touched upon all that is essential to a work of a general nature.

The divisions are well mapped out, the style is clear and concise, and the whole work commends itself to a student's attention. One rises from a perusal of the various points discussed, with a good idea of the doctrine and an abundant acquaintance with theological opinion.

La Destinée de l'Homme, par l'Abbé C. Piat. Paris: Alcan, 1898 pp. 244.

"The aim of this work is to prove that there is another life." The proof is to be teleological, not ontological,—drawn from the philosophy of ends rather than from the philosophy of causes. And the main thesis is this: although our mental processes considered simply in their nature as processes afford no incontestable guarantee of immortality, such a guarantee is found in the finality which characterizes our mental life.

M. Piat reduces the discussion of the problem to three general heads. Under the first (*Certitudes*) he examines the facts of consciousness revealed by introspection and by experimental research. The next (*Mécomptes*) is an analysis of the various forms of mental activity with a view to ascertaining whether and how far they manifest the spirituality and transcendence of the soul, and thereby justify the claim to immortality. The third bases this claim upon those beliefs and aspirations which are the directive influences in human activity (*Croyances*).

The attentive study of the mind shows that it has a life of its own. Both in their qualitative and in their quantitative aspects, mental processes present features which forbid us to identify them with any form of merely physical or organic activity. Sensation, thought, and feeling can never be reduced to modes of motion; their simplicity and indivisibility set them apart in a world distinct from the world of matter. They are phenomena; but back of them is the Ego, one, permanent and indivisible. The mind is not simply a passive recipient of impressions; it transforms, develops, originates. Its cognitions and emotions are more than pulses of nerve-energy or molecular vibrations of the brain.

What, then, is the ultimate nature of mind? If we consider our affective states, we obtain no satisfactory answer. Emerging from the depths of the unconscious and, even in consciousness eluding our grasp, these states do not warrant the inference that mind is radically distinct

from matter. Nor do we get much clearer light from the consideration of these higher processes, our ideas. The universality which characterizes these led to the concept of an impersonal, all-pervading reason; but this is merely an abstraction, opposed to the reality of our individual existence and to the data of experience: it is the result of defective analysis, metaphysical rather than psychological. And after all, the immortality of such a reason would afford us but little satisfaction.

The simplicity of our ideas, so often cited as evidence of the soul's spirituality, is not convincing. The dependence of thought upon organic conditions, the notable differences in mental capacity shown by different races, and the variations of intellectual energy in the same individual, are facts which the ontological argument is not prepared to meet. "Thus the depth of our intelligence escapes us. Much less can we trace to its roots that unique principle whence all our faculties issue as branches, that *vinculum substantiale* about which the philosophers have waged so many fruitless discussions."

Turning to the will, we have nothing, of course, to expect from that "noumenal freedom" imagined by Kant. It is freedom as we find it in consciousness that must guide our search. And the search itself is not more successful along this line than along others. The nature of freedom is shrouded in obscurity; and, at any rate, volition is only one of the many forms of mental activity: the substance of mind is as far as ever from our view.

So the metaphysical proofs of spirituality and immortality fall short. "When practical beliefs are in question, it is better to demonstrate nothing than to advance arguments which are not conclusive." Are we, then, to surrender and let materialism triumph? By no means: for the arguments against immortality are still weaker than those in its favor which we have found wanting.

Materialism has yet to prove that the soul is a mere development from matter, and were this fully established there would remain to be shown that the soul cannot survive its organism. The parallelism between mind and brain is far from exact; the influence of bodily activity upon the mind does not deprive the mind of its own activity or of its influence upon the body; the distinction of our faculties and the dependence of each process upon a particular cerebral area cannot destroy the consciousness we have of the simple, indivisible self. Materialism, with its ontology, fails; and this is its only basis.

Spiritualism has other resources at its command. It takes its appeal, when ontology is ruled out, to the "law of finality." However we may account for the existence of evil, physical and moral, in the world, certain it is that purpose is the dominant principle of life. Every vital

function has its correlative in reality,—this is the basis of all biological research. And on this basis we have to ask: Are there in us forms of life which demand life beyond the grave, which would lose their meaning and issue in nothing if immortality were not their support?

Thought, love, action—these are the forms in which human teleology asserts itself; and each assertion is a proof of immortality. Both the order of thought and the order of things proclaim the existence of a Being, eternal, intelligent, free. This is the sovereign object which forms the perspective of our intelligence. Unless we attain this object in unending life, the law of finality is violated. Our craving for the Absolute and the insufficiency of the present life have given rise to the great religious systems of the world. That positivism which bids us content ourselves with nature and ties us down to the little span of our existence here ends inevitably in pessimism. If he be not immortal, man, the supreme product of creation, is a supreme failure. On the practical side, positivism is no better. With all its declamation about "indefinite progress," "humanity" and "respect for public opinion," it can neither determine the end of our actions nor provide us with motives for acting. We need higher ideals, truer standards; and the final test can be applied only in a life to come. Morality means immortality.

The spiritualistic position finds its surest basis in this law of finality. Finality, too, is the foundation on which even the experimental sciences are built. As we accept their results unhesitatingly, so may we cling, with equal certainty, to our belief in immortality.

M. Piat's presentation of the subject is marked by order and clearness. The charm of an exquisite style is felt at every page, and is enhanced by a wealth of citations covering a wide range of literature. At the same time there is a tone of earnestness throughout the work; the author realizes the importance of the problem, and in a spirit of criticism and frankness seeks a solution that will firmly establish the doctrine of immortality in the face of modern thought.

In dealing with the ontological argument for spiritualism, he lays too much stress perhaps on simplicity of the soul as a middle term, and too little on subsistence, which is the central idea in the reasoning of St. Thomas.

With his contention that we cannot fully know the innermost nature or essence of the soul, scholastic philosophers will generally agree, though they will hardly accept the conclusion that the spirituality of the soul is not evidenced by its higher processes. If obscurity and incompleteness of knowledge is a bar to the ontological demonstration, the teleological may be challenged by the materialist on somewhat similar grounds. The very concept of finality is to-day under discus-

sion, and M. Piat could have strengthened his position by subjecting this concept to analysis and lighting it up with the clearness and definition which he so happily brings into other phases of the question. His development of the argument is nevertheless a service to philosophy, suggestive and inspiring. Though little or no account is taken of recent speculations as to the possibility and probability of a life hereafter M. Piat's contribution to the growing literature of the subject will be welcomed as an appeal to the nobler aspects of life in behalf of its true meaning and destiny.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(Acknowledgment under this rubric does not preclude further notice.)

Books and their Makers. A study of the conditions of the production and distribution of literature from the fall of the Roman Empire to the close of the seventeenth century, by Geo. Havens Putnam, A. M. Vol. I, 476–1600; vol. II, 1500–1709. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896–97.

Die Griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter—Commission der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. I. Hippolytus, Erster Band, Exegetische und Homiletische Schriften. Die Commentare zu Daniel und Zum Hohenliede, Kleinere Exegetische und Homiletische Schriften, pp. xxvii-374; viii-309. II–III. Origines, Erster Band, Die Schrift vom Martyrium, Buch I–II, gegen Celsus. Zweiter Band, Buch V–VIII, gegen Celsus. Die Schrift vom Gebet, pp. xc–374 and 545. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 1899. The price of Hippolytus is 18 marks; that of Origen (2 vols.) is 28 marks. There will appear an extensive review of these volumes in a later issue of the BULLETIN.

Etudes de Théologié Positive sur la Sainte Trinité, par Th. de Regnon, S. J. Troisième Série, Théories Grecques des Processions Divines. Paris, V. Retaux, 2 vols., pp. 584–592.

St. John Damascene on Holy Images, followed by Three Sermons on the Assumption. Translated from the original Greek by Mary H. Allies. London: Thomas Baker, 1899, pp. 216.

The Four Gospels, a new translation from the Greek text direct, with reference to the Vulgate and the ancient Syriac versions, by Very Rev. Francis Aloysius Spencer, O. P. Preface by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons. New York: William H. Young & Co., 1898, pp. 280.

The Kingdom of Italy and the Sovereignty of Rome, by William Poland, S. J. St. Louis: Herder, 1899, pp. 42.

Die Advents-Perikopen, Von Dr. Paul Wilhelm Keppler, Bischof von Rottenburg; Die Propheten-Catenen nach römischen Handschriften von Dr. M. Faulhaber, Kaplan der Anima. The above are fasciculi 1, 2, 3, of the fourth volume of "Biblische Studien," edited by Dr. Bardenhewer. Freiburg: Herder. 1899. Pp. 143, 218.

"Les Saints:" St. Henri, par Henri Lesêtre; 8°, pp. 213. St. Ambrose, par le Duc de Broglie; 8°, pp. 213. Ste. Mathilde, par Eugène Hallberg; 8°, pp. 176. St. Dominique, par Jean Guirand; Paris: Lecoffre; 8°, pp. 211. 1899.

The History of the Popes, by Dr. L. Pastor. English translation, edited by Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, of the Oratory. Volume V. Innocent VIII, Alexander VI. (1484-1489). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898; pp. lxvii-576.

Le Cardinal Meignan, par l'Abbé Henri Boissonnot, son secrétaire intime. Paris: Lecoffre, 1899; pp. 558.

THE CHAIR OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

The American Catholic organization known as the Knights of Columbus have honored themselves and benefitted the cause of higher education by agreeing to establish in the Catholic University a Chair of American History. This was done at their late National Convention at New Haven on March 7th, and done with unanimous consent. On this occasion the Very Rev. Vice-Rector of the University, Dr. Philip J. Garrigan, made a stirring and persuasive appeal to these Catholic gentlemen to take up the cause of historical truth, and see to it that the four centuries of service and labor which are to the credit of Catholicism in the New World do not go without proper appreciation. History is a powerful weapon, for good or evil, and the temper of future generations depends greatly on the way in which the past is set before them. No greater service can be rendered the cause of Catholicism than to provide a sure foundation for original research and useful publications, a centre and nucleus of studies, professors, books, and appliances, such as history, in its modern form and aspect, imperiously demands. The Convention, representative of many thousand Catholic hearts and souls from one end of our country to the other, applauded with enthusiasm these noble sentiments, and agreed to carry them into execution. In a short time we may expect to see founded within the University the Knights of Columbus Chair of American History. Thereby the memory of one of the world's supreme benefactors will be duly honored, not by perishable stone or bronze, a dumb thing at the best, but by an undying voice multiplying itself infinitely, instructing, preaching, rousing, forever perpetuating itself through generations of students and listeners.

We are assisting to-day at a mighty transformation of institutions under the action of Democracy. Catholicism has nothing to fear from this. It is truly a religion of the people, and develops most majestically where it is allowed free access to the popular heart and mind. Until lately great universities had to be supported by the state,—we live to see individual generosity, especially in the United States, creating centre after centre of advanced studies, and bringing to all earnest youth both inspiration to learning and the means of acquiring it.

It is quite in keeping with this democratic spirit that for the first time in history we see large voluntary associations of men co-operating in the work of higher education,—a task that seemed hitherto beyond

their scope, or interests, or tastes. The Catholic Temperance Union contributed $25,000 towards the foundation of a scientific and Christian teaching of the truths that lie at the basis of the organized work of the societies of Temperance. The Ancient Order of Hibernians collected the sum of $50,000 for the perpetual teaching of the language, literature, history, and antiquities of the Gael. And now the Knights of Columbus propose to raise an equal sum in order to found a Chair of American History. Thus a deep popular interest in the work of the Catholic University is awakened in thousands of homes and households. The encouragements of Leo XIII to the Catholic laity to give of their wealth to the University are combined with a patriotic interest in our fatherland and a just pride in the services of our religion. A monument arises at the heart of the nation, living and energizing; doubtless only the first of many similar nuclei of historical teaching. Apropos of this foundation it is instructive to recall that the initial work of the American (Methodist) University in the city of Washington will be done in its Hall of History, the first of its buildings to be open to students.

The Catholic University is profoundly grateful for the generosity of the Knights of Columbus, and for that confidence in its future and its spirit which this noble act betrays. Both are engaged in work of the highest character, the formation of the individual man to higher standards of goodness and knowledge; the one in the stillness of academic life, the other in the bustle and turmoil of business and social activity,—the bond between them is a common devotion to the highest ideals of Catholicism, love of religion and love of country.

THE NEW HOLY CROSS COLLEGE.

The corner-stone of the new college of the Holy Cross was laid on Sunday, March 19, by Rt. Rev. Thos. O'Gorman, Professor Emeritus of Church History in the University, now Bishop of Sioux Falls. He was assisted by Very Rev. Dr. J. A. Zahm, Provincial of the Holy Cross Congregation, who, since the purchase of the site, has carried forward his plans with characteristic vigor. The professors and students of the University and the members of the various affiliated institutions also attended the ceremony. In the stone were deposited a copy of the Holy Bible, copies of the leading newspapers, specimens of all the coins of the United States, and other appropriate mementos.

After performing the ceremony, Bishop O'Gorman addressed the assemblage as follows:

"Unheralded and informal as may be the laying of this corner-stone, yet it marks an important stage in the growth of the Catholic University of America. The first decade of its existence is coming to a close, but what a decade of struggle for life and of progress through difficulties and of triumph over obstacles. We do not repine, we do not regret, we do not complain; for does not growth mean, in institutions as in men and everything else that lives and grows, resistance to and victory over resisting forces? And if growth means also a favorable environment, has not this University been favored with the warm sunshine and fertilizing waters of papal protection and love, with the fostering care of hierarchy and clergy, with the warm and generous sympathy of laity, eager for the blessings of the highest and best education? The force of circumstances, or rather, to speak the language of a Christian, the ruling of Providence, has made this youthful institution, during the first ten years of its existence, the centre, storm as well as sunshine centre, of the Catholic Church in the United States; so that the history of our church in the decade just closing is contained in the history of the Catholic University in the same period. Struggle shows life, environment accounts for growth.

"I have named some factors of the environment in which the university has prospered; this ceremony draws attention to a factor of the greatest power and importance. From this hill where we stand, behold the imposing halls of the university itself, and see clustering around them the houses of studies established by the Paulists, the Marists, the Franciscans!

"This building, the corner-stone of which is blessed this afternoon, will be the home of the students of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. The dimensions, the solidity, the architectural beauty of this college, prove that its founders have confidence in the future of the University as an undoubted centre of higher education for the Catholics of the United States. In the Middle Ages the great universities became sooner or later the great rallying points of numerous colleges erected by different nations, or provinces, or monastic and religious bodies. Thus grew Oxford and Cambridge, Paris, and Salamanca. Thus, in our own days, grows Louvain, where Dominicans and Jesuits and Redemptorists and others have grouped their respective houses of studies around the university.

"History is repeating itself in our time, on our soil, in this Capital of the Nation. As in the administration, so in the educational sphere the District of Columbia is to be the theatre of a growing centralization. Here converge around the dome of the Capitol the departments of the nation's political existence. Here are converging and will converge more and more with time, around Caldwell and McMahon Halls, the houses of studies of our religious orders, men and women. The days of doubt and hesitation are over; the future is secure; we hail the blessing of the corner-stone of this building as the augury of a second decade more successful, even if less stormy, than the first decade of the University."

NECROLOGY.

MRS. EUGENE KELLY.

Mrs. Eugene Kelly, a notable benefactress of the University, died in New York, February 10. She was born Margaret Anna Hughes near Youngstown, Pa., where her father, Patrick Hughes, had settled in 1818. In 1840 the family removed to Grovemont, near Watertown, in Jefferson county, N. Y. Mrs. Kelly was one of the first students of the Academy of the Sacred Heart, at Manhattanville, and, in 1857, was married to Mr. Eugene Kelly by her uncle, Archbishop Hughes. Her life was spent in unostentatious service of God through the poor and the ignorant. The New York Foundling Asylum, The Sisters of the Bon Secours, the Little Sisters of the Assumption, the Ladies' Auxiliary of St. Vincent's Hospital, the Eucharistic League, and other pious or charitable enterprises consumed her time, strength and devotion. It has been well said of her that there was scarcely any foundation for woman's work in which she did not take an active interest.

Mrs. Kelly founded in the University the chair known as the "Margaret Hughes Kelly Chair of Holy Scripture" at the same time that her husband founded the "Eugene Kelly Chair of Ecclesiastical History." For this purpose each gave the sum of $50,000. During the ten years of the life of the Faculty of Theology over two hundred young priests have enjoyed a very superior training in the knowledge and use of the Scriptures. For this not only they, but the congregations which they serve, are indebted to this excellent woman. And the good work thus started will go on, we hope, for many a century, just as professors and fellows and students are yet living at Oxford and Cambridge on the revenues of similar foundations by noble and generous Catholic women.

We would not depreciate by an iota the generosity that is moved by the needs of the poor, the abandoned, the public worship of Catholicism; yet we cannot help reflecting that in some respects the great sums of money devoted to the higher training of Catholic youth are richer in permanent results, have a wider efficiency, go on operating long after the donors have departed, bear forever to the world the memory of their

foresight, and of their charity to posterity. They are true blazons of nobility; when time and change have obliterated all else, these foundations remain, public, energizing, vivid acts of faith and love long after the person of the donor is reduced to dust.

The administration, teachers, and students of the University condole sincerely with the bereaved family; the members of the Faculty of Theology, with their students, regret particularly the demise of a principal benefactress, whose memory they shall ever hold dear at the altar, in all public solemnities, and in that general sentiment of gratitude which goes out unceasingly to those who have given of this world's goods that Catholic theology might be forever presented with that dignity, charm and effect which should grace the divine truth.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Alumni of the University was held at Murray Hill Hotel, N. Y., February 7th. The gathering was the most enthusiastic and the largest in point of numbers that has yet been held. After the reports of the officers had been read, discussed, and accepted, twenty-one new members were elected. The constitution was amended to the effect that the meeting shall be held in Washington every third year, and Philadelphia was then selected as the place of meeting in 1900. It was voted to admit professors of the University into the association, and the Executive Committee was instructed to formulate a clause to that effect, which would be introduced into the constitution as an amendment. The Right Reverend Rector addressed the meeting and made many valuable suggestions for the development of the association.

The following officers were elected: President, Rev. Lemuel B. Norton; vice-presidents, Rev. P. J. Hayes, Mr. F. P. Guilfoile; secretary, Rev. W. J. Kerby, Ph. D.; treasurer, Rev. G. V. Leahy; executive committee, Revs. L. A. Deering, F. J. Sheehan, W. J. Fitzgerald, W. C. Currie, J. W. Melody. The office of historian was created and Rev. P. C. McClean was elected to it for the next meeting.

When business had been concluded the annual banquet was held, the seat of honor being occupied by the Right Reverend Rector.

Conference of Catholic Colleges.—With a view to co-ordinating and strengthening the entire system of collegiate education, the Rt. Rev. Rector has invited all the Catholic colleges of the United States to take part in a conference which is to be held in Chicago, April 12th and 13th. Sixty colleges have responded, expressing their approval of the conference and promising to send representatives. They have also sent valuable suggestions regarding the scope of the conference and the character of the work it should undertake. After careful consideration, it has been decided that at this first meeting the college idea and its place in the educational system should be discussed, and that the conference should determine the character of subsequent meetings. The following topics have been selected: 1. The Typical College: What Should it Teach and How; 2. Problems of Catholic Education in Our Present Social Needs; 3. The Catholic College as a Preparation for a Business Career;

4. What the College may do for Preparatory Schools; 5. College Entrance Conditions; 6. Requirements for College Degrees; 7. Drift Towards non-Catholic Colleges and Universities—Causes and Remedies. In order that some practical good might be reached, representatives of the various teaching bodies who have charge of collegiate work have been requested to prepare papers on these topics. The reading of each paper will be followed by general discussion. Addresses will also be delivered by men prominent in the work of Catholic education. Other details will be arranged by the local committee, and every effort will be made to facilitate the work of the conference and ensure results worthy of our colleges.

Spiritual Retreat. — During the week immediately preceding the Easter recess, the professors and students of the University enjoyed the benefits of a retreat which was conducted by Rt. Rev. Thos. O'Gorman. These annual exercises have as their special purpose the due observance of the Paschal solemnity, and in view of this several conferences were given daily on the nobility of Christian life and the performance of Christian duty.

Keane Hall.—At a recent meeting of the Academic Senate it was voted that the dormitory erected two years ago for the accommodation of lay students should in future be known as "Keane Hall." To Archbishop Keane, its first Rector, the University is forever indebted; its organization and growth will be a lasting monument to his devotion and untiring energy in behalf of Catholic education.

Bishop Spalding's Discourse on Higher Education.—It was the privilege of the teachers and students of the University to hear on January 13th an admirable discourse from Bishop Spalding on the true object and spirit of all superior education,—the development of the mind and heart of the individual. It is impossible to reproduce in a short notice the acumen and wisdom of this discourse,—all who were privileged to hear it bore away golden memories of its suggestiveness and of the graces of expression which rendered it so delightful and refreshing. A large audience from the city, quite filling Assembly Hall, attested the popular interest in the educational utterances of the Bishop of Peoria.

Gift of French Classics.—The Marquis des Monstiers de Mérinville has donated to the Library of Comparative Literature in the English Department thirty-four volumes of French classics. The collection includes select works of Bossuet, Massillon, Bourdaloue and Fénélon, and the complete works of Racine, La Fontaine, Molière and Corneille. The teachers and students of the English Department return their sincere thanks for this valuable contribution to their working materials.

Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.—This feast (January 25) is the patronal feast of the Faculty of Theology. This year Pontifical High Mass was celebrated in the Divinity chapel, in presence of the faculty and students of theology, by Rt. Rev. Edmund F. Prendergast, D. D., Bishop of Scillo. The sermon was delivered by the Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Dean of the Faculty of Theology, who took for his subject, "St. Paul: Teacher of the Nations."

Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Philosophy was observed March 7. Solemn High Mass was celebrated in the University chapel by Very Rev. A. Magnien S. S., President of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. Very Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace, Dean of the Faculty, delivered an address which appears in this number of the BULLETIN. After the Mass, the Faculty were the guests of the Rector at dinner in Caldwell Hall.

Gift of Publications from the University of Upsala (Sweden).—We have received from the authorities of the University of Upsala in Sweden fourteen volumes, comprising publications of the University and other some valuable texts. Especially valuable is the "Bibliothecæ Upsaliensis Historia," by O. O. Celsio, (Upsaliæ, 1745), together with the large folio history of the University from 1872 to 1897. This token of amity from our academic brethren of the great northern nation is very dear to us. We hope that this seat of learning may prosper for many a century and exert the profoundest influence on the hearts and minds of the people of Sweden. We append a list of the works:

O. F. Tullberg—Mâlavikâ et Agnimitra. Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1840 (Textum Sanscritum). J. T. Nordling—Den Svaga Verb-bildningen I Hebreiskan; Upsala, 1879. K. Hildebrand—Johan III och Europas Katolska makter; Upsala, 1898. J. T. Nordling—De Allmänna Vokalförändringarna I Hebrieska Spräket; Upsala, 1879. O. F. Tullberg—Gregorii Bar Hebraei in Iesaiam Scholia; Upsala, 1842. O. F. Tullberg—Gregorii Bar Hebraei in Psalmos Scholiorum Specimen; Upsala, 1842. J. T. Nordling—Ijjôbs Bok; Upsala, 1877. C. Annerstedt—Om Samhällsklasser och Lefnadssätt under Förra Hälften af 1600-Talet; Stockholm. O. O. Celsio—Bibliothecae Upsaliensis Historia; Upsaliae, 1745. O. Guensel—Bidrag Till Svenska Liturgiens Historia, 2 vols.; Upsala, 1890. H. Hjärne—Sveriges Ställning Till Främmande Makter; Upsala, 1884. Catalogus Centuriae Librorum Rarissimorum MSS. et partim Impressorum, Arabicorum, Persicorum, Turcicorum, etc.; Upsaliae, 1706. C. J. Tornberg—Codices Arabici, Persici et Turcici; Lundae, 1849. Upsala Universitet 1872-1897, Festskrift; Upsala, 1897. Upsala Universitets Ärsskrift, 1890-97, 8 vols.

Other Gifts to the University Library.—Among the valuable accessions to the University Library within the last few months, we note the following:

From the Université de Lille: Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille, Nos. 15 to 21. F. Tourneux—Atlas d'Embryologie, Lille, 1892. J. Flammermont—Album Palèographique du Nord de la France, Lille, 1896. S. Baudry—Eléments de Pathologie Chirurgicale Générale, Lille, 1894.

From Right Rev. Camillus Maes, D. D., Covington, Ky.—59 vols., mostly on American Church History.

From the University of Chicago—Reports and Catalogues, 9 vols.

From Rev. E. P. Graham, Cleveland, O.—Gottfried Arnold, Kirchen und Ketzer Historien. Schaffhausen, 1740; 3 vols.

From Rev. R. Cranby, Morganfield, Ky.—Joannis a S. Thoma—Cursus Theologicus, Parisiis, 1886; 10 vols.

From the Authors' Club, N. Y.—Liber Scriptorum. Copy No. 147.;

Pittonia.—The April number of *Pittonia* (vol. IV, part 20) contains the following original studies: New Species of Castilleia, A Fascicle of New Violets, New Western Species of Rosa, New Choripetalous Exogens, Notes on Machæranthera, Early Species of Sisyrinchium, New or Noteworthy Species, XXIV; Neglected Generic Types I, Two New Gerardias, (Plates ix and x).

Philological Association.—In order to encourage philological research and to render the work of the School of Letters more effective, an association has recently been organized under the direction of Dr. Henebry and Dr. Bolling. Meetings are held monthly for the presentation and criticism of papers on philological topics. At the March meeting Dr. Bolling read a paper on "The Study of Language." The subjects announced for April are: "The External Euphonic Combination of an Isolated Leinşter-Irish Dialect," by Dr. Henebry. "The Play-House of the Restoration," by Mr. Elmer Murphy.

Public Lecture Course.—During the quarter just ended, lectures in this course were delivered as follows: By Rt. Rev. J. L. Spalding, D. D., "Life and Education." By Hon. Carroll D. Wright, "The Principles of Social Economics," "The Use and Abuse of Statistics," "Statistics in the Study of Social Economics" (2 lectures), "The Elements of Industrial Society," "Systems of Labor." By Hon. Geo. F. Hoar, "George Washington." By Dr. J. F. Spalding, "Nathaniel Hawthorne," "Oliver Wendell Holmes."

ANALECTA.

The Brain of Helmholtz.—In the *Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane* (Berlin) Bd. XX, Heft 1, Professor David Hausemann gives an interesting account of the autopsy made by him upon the remains of the great physicist and physiologist. Helmholtz died September 8, 1894, of apoplexy. In spite of his advanced age, seventy-three years, section of the brain revealed no traces of senile atrophy. The hæmorrhage affected chiefly the right hemisphere, producing a double lesion that corresponded with the two apoplectic strokes. The brain-weight, as estimated by Hausemann, was 1420-1440 g.—scarcely 100 g. above the average. There was nothing remarkable in the development of the convolutions, though the præcuneus showed extraordinary breadth and furrowing. What Flechsig calls "association fibres," i. e., pathways between central cells of the brain, were highly developed. But this, says Hausemann, affords no explanation of Helmholtz' superior intelligence; for similar anatomical features have been found in the brains of individuals whose mental capacity was not above the ordinary.

Hausemann, accordingly, seeks an explanation in function rather than in structure. It is not the growth of any particular region nor its richness in fibres, but the amount and character of *stimulation* sent into these favored areas that accounts for the exceptional vigor of the mind. The effects of stimulants, such as alcohol, coffee, tea and tobacco, are well known. The smell of apples sufficed to brighten up Schiller's fancy, and many an orator's eloquence waxes under the influence of a vast audience. To another class belong those minds which, after a brilliant precociousness in youth, fade out in middle life and drop to the average. There is no degeneration of cells or fibres, but simply a lowering of excitability; the brain is blunted or benumbed. The third group is decidedly pathological. It suggests the genius-insanity connection Progressive degeneration is the typical condition. In the fourth place come strong enduring intellects,—the Newtons, Cuviers, Beethovens, Bismarcks. In each case some peculiarity of brain-stimulation may be expected. And as Helmholtz belongs to this class, we have to look for something that spurred up continually his cerebral activity.

Hausemann has put his finger on the cause. Helmholtz suffered, or rather we may say enjoyed, a slight chronic hydrocephalus. Accumulation of fluid means increased pressure, and consequently increased stimulation of the brain. The result where certain regions are well

developed, as in this instance, is more cerebral activity, higher intelligence. And Hausemann very properly concludes that what we need to put such explanations on a sure footing is the examination of brains, as numerous as possible, of individuals whose mental powers are accurately known.

Helmholtz himself was very logical. From the epileptic attacks to which, occasionally, he was subject, he probably inferred that his trouble was hydrocephalic. Whether he was duly grateful for the fluid and strain is not recorded. But we have no longer any reason to pity cases of "water on the brain." When they are mild, the business of science is to get a manometer that will register the pressure. We have "ohms," "volts" and "ampères." Why not a list of cerebral units? It might, of course, be long; it would certainly grow in length as whims of structure and function arose from the modest rôle of conditions to that of causes.

Institute of Bacteriology at Louvain.—The inauguration, on February 2, of the Institute of Bacteriology is an important step in the development of the Catholic University of Louvain. For many years past bacteriological research has been conducted there, and has yielded brilliant results; but the quarters were cramped and the equipment limited. These drawbacks disappear in the new institute. Ample accommodations are secured in three groups of buildings, which comprise laboratories, libraries, museums, professors' lodgings, and housing for the various animals needed as subjects of experiment. These structures present a fine combination of the useful and the ornamental, and are surrounded by spacious grounds which are also arranged to suit the special purposes of the Institute.

At the ceremony of inauguration the rector of the university, Mgr. Hebbelynck, presided and delivered the opening address. Professor Denys gave an interesting account of the work already done at Louvain in Bacteriology, especially in the preparation and application of serum. Mgr. Abbeloos paid an eloquent tribute to the enlightened zeal and generosity of the Belgian episcopate, under whose direction the University has made such progress on all lines. There, indeed, is a fact worth considering: The bishops of Belgium, with all the absorbing cares of densely populated dioceses, find time and means to establish one of the finest institutes of bacteriology in the world. This is a practical sort of "Apologetics." It not only shows that faith and science are in harmony, but it also preserves and strengthens the faith of the people by putting the best methods of scientific research within their reach. If Belgium is to-day so thoroughly Catholic and so progressive, it is because the episcopate has controlled and developed, by their active co-operation, the University of Louvain.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE.[1]

The larger portion of the work of the society which we are forming to-day will in all probability have to do with the study of language. The scientific study of this branch of human culture, dating as it does but from the beginning of this century, is one of our youngest sciences, and in consequence of its youth must still be engaged chiefly with questions of detail. The problems that will lie before us are *e. g.* such as the cause of the difference in quantity between *pês* and *pedem*, of the difference of vocalic quality between these and (Doric) πῶς and ποδός. They are such as the origin of the Greek adverbs like οὕτω οὕτως,—are they fossil relics of an ablative or an instrumental case? And whence comes the final—ς? Or, again, why should the genitive in Greek, the ablative in Latin be used after the comparative? These and similar questions of detail are the ones that confront us, and before they can be approached, preliminary work also of a detailed nature is involved, viz., the exact determination of the usage of the language for the period and the phenomenon in question. For instance, the problem to which I first alluded, the variation in quantity and quality of the vowels in *pês pedem*, πῶς ποδός, and let me add Avestan *fra-bd-a* "the fore part of the foot," demands as a preliminary for its solution the collection of all such instances of vowel gradation, not only in Latin and Greek, but also in all the kindred languages, the sifting of the material in order to exclude all such instances as Attic πούς where the peculiar

[1] This paper was originally read before the Philological Association of the Catholic University of America.

vocalic color was called forth by other causes long after those that produced the variation *pês pedem*, *πῶς ποδός*, *fra-bd a*, had ceased to act. Only such a collection of material can afford a safe basis for any attempt to solve this problem technically known as the origin of the Indo-European system of "*ablaut.*"

Hand in hand with this detail nature of linguistic work goes the necessity for its subdivision. Familiar to all of us are the words of the Roman poet, "*non omnia possumus omnes.*" The same lesson is enforced by the author of the Indian Book of Good Counsel, the Hitopadeça *sarvajño nâ 'sti kaç cana*, "no man is a knower of all things." And modern times with their progress, and consequent demands for greater depth and more detail in knowledge, likewise recognize the limitations of our powers, and embody this recognition, in the demands for "specialists" and for "specialization." This subdivision of the work seems at present inseparable from all scientific progress. But subdivision of the work is merely a practical concession to the limitations of our powers and no matter to what extremes it may be carried it cannot affect the concept of the unity of the science. Each scholar may appropriate to himself a certain portion of the field and concentrate upon it his attention, but the results of his labor can be of permanent value only inasmuch as they tend towards the furtherance of the aims of the science as a whole. The specialist will find that in order to prosecute his work with profit he must have, not only a knowledge of those departments that lie closest to his own —a knowledge sufficiently intimate to allow him to pass independent judgment upon the work done and the results achieved in those departments—but also must keep before his mind the goal towards which the science as a whole is working in order to appreciate the value and the bearing of the results of his work upon that object.

Reflections of this nature have brought me to the conclusion that in no way can this society make a better beginning of its work than by considering the objects at which we should aim in the study of language, and the value of the results that we are striving to attain – their value both in themselves and as a help to further progress in other branches of knowledge.

To some of you it may have seemed strange that I have employed in the title of this paper the phrase "The Scientific

Study of Language," and not "Linguistic Science" nor "Philology." A discussion of these terms will make clear my reasons for the choice and at the same time throw light upon the subject of the paper.

In studying a language we may aim at acquiring only the ability to understand—more or less perfectly—thoughts expressed in that language, and to express in that language—with more or less perfection—our own thoughts. Such study of a language is valuable for many purposes but it is practical and not scientific.

By the scientific study of any one language is meant the study of all the phenomena of that language from the point of view of cause and effect from the present time to as remote a period as the material at our command allows that language to be traced. At this point, however, we must note that the only cause that can be given for a linguistic phenomenon is a historical one. The only reason why any given man speaks thus and so is that those from whom he learned to speak, spoke thus and so. The science is a historical one, and the ideal presentation of its results would be a history of the language —a historical grammar —describing with exactness every phenomenon of the language. Such a presentation must, however, always suffer from the difficulties or, if you will, the defects under which the historical presentation of any complex process must labor. It must vary in minuteness of detail according to the amount of material available, and it must present successively events that happened contemporaneously. Grammar, like history, should be written in parallel columns, and the reader should have more eyes than Argus to follow all simultaneously.

To historical is often opposed comparative Grammar, though the opposition is more apparent than real, consisting in such a modification of method as is rendered unavoidable by the different nature of the material. The student of a modern language, that has behind it a long period of development, the records of which have been well preserved, can generally find in the records of the earlier periods the reasons for the linguistic phenomena of the present. But as the student goes farther and farther back, as the records become more and more imperfect and scanty they fail more and more to give with

completeness the causes for the phenomena of the period under investigation. Until finally when the earliest historical period is reached, the period at which the records begin, the student finds that he has no longer any direct evidence for a still earlier period in which he can search for an explanation of the earliest monuments of the language. Such a period can however often be reconstructed by the aid of the kindred languages, and thus a historical reason can be given for the phenomena of the earliest historical period, which we would otherwise have to accept as ultimate facts. Thus the student of modern English may trace its progress backwards step by step through middle English to the Anglo-Saxon of Beowulf. At that point the records fail, but a comparison of the other Germanic languages enables him to reconstruct a still earlier period—Proto-Germanic—of the language out of which Anglo-Saxon developed. A comparison of this Proto-Germanic with Latin, Greek, Avestan, Sanskrit, and the other kindred languages leads to the reconstruction of the language of a still earlier period—the Indo-European.

Thus we see that there is no fundamental difference between historical and comparative grammar—the object of each is the same, to trace the history of the development of a given language. Only in one case the student has the materials for his history furnished to him directly by documents of the language, in the other he is obliged to rely for his material upon inferences drawn from an examination of the related languages. Practically the union between the two is even closer; the comparative grammarian must know the history of the different languages with which he deals, while no historian of any language can afford to ignore completely its kindred, although as I have already indicated, the need of their help will be felt most keenly in the earliest period and less and less as the period through which the language has already lived grows longer.

But this does not yet exhaust the field of the scientific study of language. So far we have been speaking of the phenomena of an individual language or of individual languages; over and above these are the problems of language itself. In the words of Paul,[1] "the history of languages like

[1] Principien der Sprachgeschichte. Introd. p. XXI, of Strong's translation.

every other branch of the science of history, has running parallel with it a science which occupies itself with the general conditions of the existence of the object historically developing and investigates the nature and operations of the elements which throughout all change remain constant."

To this is given the name Linguistic Science or the Science of Language. It was because of my intention to speak, not only of this science, but also of historical and comparative grammar that I employed for the title of this paper not Linguistic Science, nor the Science of Language, but the Scientific Study of Language.

Language is perhaps the greatest of man's achievements, and is certainly the most efficient tool that he has employed in working out his civilization. The study of the general conditions of its existence may well, therefore, be an object of study for its own sake, and is a necessary preliminary for the employment of linguistic phenomena to throw light upon psychological processes. Lack of time, however, forbids my speaking of this, and I will confine myself to what is of more importance for our present purpose, the bearing of Linguistic Science upon the study of any one language, whether from the point of view of comparative or historical grammar. That a man who is endeavoring to trace the causal connection between the different recorded phenomena of any language, and to reconstruct as far as possible those links in the chain for which we have no record—that such a man must know the general conditions under which language exists and develops—the nature of the factors at work in this development, their mode of operation and the effects which they can produce, is a proposition that would seem to be self-evident. Yet, curiously enough there has been, and in some quarters still is, a neglect of if not a positive antipathy for linguistic science—for so-called methodological questions. Common sense, or at the most, general logic, it is pleaded, is a sufficient guide. The refutation of such a plea is to be found in the history of modern grammar showing as it does on the one hand the many errors through which men groped for years before the right method was evolved, and on the other the progress of recent years which is in a large measure due to the influence exerted

by the clear formulation of principles contained in Hermann Paul's Principien der Sprachgeschichte.

No one has expressed more strongly than Whitney, his conviction of the necessity of the study of the general principles of linguistic science. He says: [1] "It can hardly admit of question that at least so much knowledge of the nature, history, and classifications of language as is here presented ought to be included in every scheme of higher education, even for those who do not intend to become special students in comparative philology. Much more necessary of course is it to those who cherish such an intention. It is, I am convinced, a mistake to commence at once upon a course of detailed comparative philology with pupils who have only enjoyed the ordinary training in the classical or modern languages, or in both. They are liable either to fail of apprehending the value and interest of the infinity of particulars into which they are plunged, or else to become wholly absorbed in them, losing sight of the grand truths and principles which underlie and give significance to their work, and the recognition of which ought to govern its course throughout; perhaps even coming to combine with acuteness and erudition in etymological investigation views respecting the nature of language and the relation of languages of a wholly crude or fantastical character."

To this I may add the words of Brugmann: [2] "Man pflegte den angehenden Jüngern der classischen und der germanischen philologie früherhin den Rat zu ertheilen, ihre Sprachstudien mit dem Erlernen des Sanskrit zu beginnen. Ich unterschätze die Wichtigkeit des Sanscritstudiums keineswegs und möchte nicht das dasselbe aus dem Studienplane dieser Philologen gestrichen werde. Aber wichtiger für die sprachwissenschaftliche Ausbildung erscheint mir dass der Philologe und zwar der Philologe jedweder Gattung, zunächst eine Vorlesung zu hören bekomme, in der er über das Wesen der Sprache und ihrer Entwicklung orientiert wird, damit er befähigt werde in allem, was die Sprache betrifft, wirklich wissenschaftlich zu denken und die Dinge so zu schauen wie sie sind. Je weiter er dieses Studium hinausschiebt, um so schwerer wird es ihm sich den durch die Macht der Gewohnheit gross gezogenen Fundamentalirrtümern zu entwinden."

[1] Language and the Study of Language, Preface, p. vii.
[2] Zum heutigen Stand der Sprachwissenschaft p. 40, sq.

The lack of training in linguistic science is, if not fatal to the accuracy of detail investigation, liable to vitiate any attempt at scientific combination of the facts so determined. And even if the investigator under the guidance of general logic or common sense reaches correct conclusions, the defect in his training will make itself felt in his inability to account satisfactorily for the method of investigation that he has followed.

Turning now from the consideration of the science of language to the scientific, *i. e.*, the historical study of any language, we may first raise the question, with what other branches of science is it to be classed? Delbrück tells us (Einleitung in das Sprachstudium, p. 44) that it is his belief that if the question had been put to Schleicher—the great scholar whose work marks the close of the first and the beginning of the second epoch of comparative grammar—in what did the merit of his work consist, he would have replied in the application of the methods of the natural sciences to linguistic science. His contemporaries however did not share these views, and at present it is held that linguistic science is not one of the natural sciences, but is to be classed with those pursuits that we term philological.

"Philology," however, and "philological" are terms that have caused much discussion.[1] Into this discussion I have no intention of going. Boeckh's definition of the term is the one that is characterized by the greatest breadth of view, and is in a modified form the one that probably meets at present with the widest acceptance.[2] According to this the problem for philology is to investigate and to portray historically the activity of the human mind, that is the development of human civilization. The spirit of a people manifests itself in various ways in their language, in their customs and laws, in their literature, their science, their art, in their mode of public and private life. The object of philology is to trace the development of civilization in all its branches, at all times, and among all peoples—in short, it together with psychology and anthro-

[1] Cf. Paul, Begriff und Aufgabe der germanischen Philologie, Grundriss der germ. Phil. I², p. 8.

[2] Cf. Paul, l. c., p. 1 ff.; Brugmann, Zum heutigen Stand d. Sprachwissenschaft, p. 7; Hirt, Sprachwissenschaft und Geschichte, Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte, und Deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik I, 485.

pology constitutes the study of man—"the proper study of mankind."

The study of language then is but one part of philology, the object of which is to reproduce for ourselves the achievements of the human mind, and not merely to reproduce them but to discover the causal connection between them. The study of language is aided by all the other branches of philology, and contributes in turn to each of them. To show the interrelations that exist between all the branches would lead too far, so I will confine my attention to the branch that is most widely separated from the study of language—namely, to history.

The direct service that language gives to the historian is evident, inasmuch as an indispensable requisite for the employment of any document is a knowledge of the language in which it is composed. But what I wish to call your attention to at present is the large body of facts of historical importance, for which we have no direct record, that are known to us or are still to be ascertained only through inferences drawn from language, or for which we have records indeed, but records the accuracy of which would be open to question if it were not for the confirmatory evidence of language.

Modern grammar begins with the establishment of the Indo-European family of languages, with the proof that the Aryan language of India, the languages of Persia, Armenia, Phrygia, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, of the Illyrian, Italic, Keltic, Teutonic, and Balto-Slavic peoples are all descendants from one common language. It holds that there was an Indo-European language, an Indo-European people—though not necessarily an Indo-European race, and that this people had spread its language and its civilization over the territory indicated above, to a great extent at least, before the beginning of our records. In part this was a confirmation of previous ideas, in part a revolution of them. Language had separated what before was supposed to be united, and had pointed out connections that had not been dreamed of previously. But this fact, which was revealed by language alone, remains undisputed and forms the background for the histories of these peoples, that is, for the history of the most important part of the civilized world.

Other questions arise from this at once. From what point did this dispersion of the Indo-Europeans take place? What was the method of this dispersion? With what peoples did the Indo-Europeans come in contact, and with what results? These are all historical questions and in all of them the study of language is the leader, assisted by whatever information ancient writers have transmitted to us.

The belief that was at first prevalent that the dispersion had taken place by a series of divisions and sub-divisions that could be neatly represented by a genealogical tree was overthrown by Johannes Schmidt,[1] and since then the conviction that the process was an exceedingly complicated one has been steadily gaining ground.[2] Kretschmer (p. 56, ff.), discusses the problem of the original home of the Indo-Europeans, and reaches the conclusion that at the period represented by the reconstructed language they must have extended over the long but narrow strip of land that extends from France, eastward through the whole of central Europe to the steppes of Russia and Siberia; that at a still earlier period they may have occupied only a portion of this territory is not denied, but for the solution of that question we must, according to Kretschmer, look chiefly to prehistoric archæology. That the study of language will have nothing more to do with this question which it was the first to raise, I am loath to believe, and I may call attention to the most recent indication of an attempt at such a solution of the problem, that of Hirt in his article already cited.[3]

It is to language, too, that we must look for our knowledge of the relations of these peoples in the prehistoric period. The information thus obtained is important, and the points of union and diversity shown are, if not surprising, at any rate such as could not have been divined without the aid of language. For instance, we learn that at one time the Balto-Slavic, Aryan, Armenian, Thracian, Phrygian and Albanian peoples must have stood in particularly close relations with one another as compared with the remaining Indo-European peoples. This is proved by the fact that all of these languages have in common

[1] Die Sprachverwandtschaftverhältnisse der Indogermanischen Sprachen (Weimar, 1872.)

[2] Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, chap. IV.

[3] Sprachwissenschaft und Geschichte, p. 492 f.

changed an original palatal mute into a spirant, whereas the other languages present either the mute or a continuation of it. To take but a single illustration, Indo-European *kmtom* gives on the one hand, Sanskrit, *çatam;* Avestan, *satəm;* Lithuanian, *szimtas;* on the other, *ἑ-κατόν*, *centum;* Old Irish, *cet;* Gothic, *hund.* Along with this goes a parallel treatment of the gutturals, so that all chance of accidental coincidence is excluded. That this dialectic variation should, as Hirt believes, have been accompanied by geographical separation does not seem to me improbable. This is also the opinion of Von Bradke.[1] Before it took place, however, there must have been especial ties connecting Germans, Lithuanians and Slavs, as is shown by certain coincidences of vocabulary, and by the extension of the *m*-suffix for the instrumental plural instead of the *bh*-suffix of the other languages.[2] These are facts of historical value, as is also the fact that at a later period the Lithuanian and Slavic peoples were brought again into contact with the "centum" peoples, most probably with the Germans, for Lithuanian *smakrà*, Lettic *smakrs* "chin"[3] shows the guttural unchanged (contrast Sanskrit *çmaçru*, "beard") and must have been borrowed from a "centum" language after this phonetic law had ceased to act.[4]

Geographically and historically Persia and India are far apart, but no languages stand in closer relations than the languages of the Veda and Avesta. Whole stanzas of the Avesta can by the application of phonetic laws be turned into perfectly good Vedic poetry. A specimen of this may be seen in Jackson's Avesta Grammar, p. xxxi. No sentence of Greek, for instance, could be changed into any other Indo-European language by the same process; nor does such close correlation exist elsewhere in the Indo-European family except perhaps between the Lithuanian and the Lettic.[5] This similarity of the languages proves that they must have gone through a common period of development, or in terms of history that there was a time when the Indian and Iranian peoples lived together speaking a language that was essentially a unit.

[1] Beiträge zur Erkentniss der vorhistorischen Entwickelung unseres Sprachstammes.
[2] Cf. Kretschmer, p. 109 sq.
[3] Cf. Old Irish, *Smech.*
[4] Cf. for other examples Kretschmer, 108 sq.
[5] Cf. Bloomingfield, *American Journal of Philology*, V. 181.

Kretschmer, (p. 126, ff.,) calls attention to points of similarity that connect the Aryan languages with the Italic and the Keltic, e. g., Sanskrit *-râj* = Latin rêg = Old Irish rî, (gen. rîg) a word which together with its kindred is confined to these three branches, for the apparently related Germanic words, e. g., Gothic *reiks*, are borrowed from the Celtic; also Sanskrit *brahma* = Latin *flamen*; Sanskrit *aryaka* = Old Irish *airech;* Sanskrit *çrad dadhâmi* = Latin *crêdo* = Old Irish *cretim.* The solution that he offers for this is that a tribe must have wandered from the west to the east, and then been vanquished and absorbed, leaving in these words a trace of its language. If this hypothesis shall prove to be accepted in spite of the venturesomeness, which its author insists is only apparent, we shall have proof of a migration that may well be compared as Kretschner does with that of the Vandal from the banks of the Oder to the south of Spain, although one has and the other lacks tradition in history.

Apropos of this, it may be remarked, however, that conquest as well as defeat may be fatal to the language of a nation. Prof. Hempl, of the University of Michigan, in an interesting article entitled "Language-Rivalry and Speech-Differentiation in the Case of Race-Mixture"[1] has undertaken to show what the different linguistic results will be in each typical case of race-mixture, thus formulating with more clearness than before the general principles which are to guide in translating linguistic phenomena of this kind into terms of history.

The first case he takes as typical is when a small body of invaders conquers a people and assumes control of the government. It is to their interest to assimilate as quickly as possible with their subjects. Their language perishes, but leaves its mark in the words for the different offices and pursuits that the conquerors had appropriated to themselves, e. g., words for *king*, *priest*, *war*, etc. A good historical example is that of the Norman French in England; others cited by Hempl are those of the Goths in Italy and Spain, the Franks in Gaul, the Normans in France and Italy. According to this, the evidence collected by Kretschmer would point rather to the triumph than to the defeat of the Western people. The presence of a similar stock of Keltic words in Germanic[2] is ex-

[1] Proceedings American Philological Association, XXIX, 31, ff.
[2] Cf. Kluge Gr. Germ. Ph. I² 325.

plained by Hempl, in the same way, while similar evidence for Germanic conquest is found in the languages of the Finns and Slavs.

Until the publication of Hübschmann's article "Über die Stellung der Armenischen im Kreise der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen."[1] Armenian was generally considered an Iranian language. Hübschmann's work proved that its apparent connection with Iranian was due to the large number of words that Armenian had borrowed from Iranian at a very early period but that it was originally distinct from the Iranian and more closely connected with the languages of Europe. Later investigations[2] have shown its connection with the Thracian-Phrygian group, confirming the testimony of the ancients.[3]

Lack of time forbids my going into details, and I will only cite Kretschmer's seventh chapter, on the Thracian-Phrygian people, as a splendid illustration of the way in which linguistic and archæological investigations may be brought to bear on the solution of such a difficult historical problem as the early migrations from Europe into Asia Minor.

Later chapters of the same book (X–XI) furnish us another example upon which I will dwell with somewhat more detail, because it shows us first, another method in which the study of language is of aid to history, and secondly, because it opens up for us a different chapter of history. Hitherto I have spoken of the prehistoric contact of peoples the evidence for which has been preserved in the points of similarity of their languages. The example I am about to cite will show how geographical names may bear witness for the former extension of a people over a territory from which they have afterwards disappeared. At the same time it will show how language can tell us something of the peoples who once occupied the lands that afterwards became the possession of the Indo-Europeans. These peoples were once wont to be ignored when it was the fashion to think of Europe as uninhabited before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans brought, like the sun, the light

[1] Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XXIII, 1 sq.

[2] Cf. Kretschmer, 208. ff.

[3] Cf. Her. VII., 73 : *ξόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι.* Eudoxus ap. Steph. of Byzantium, sub voce *Ἀρμενία*: *Ἀρμένιοι τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι.*

of civilization from the east. Nevertheless they must have exercised a decided influence upon the civilization and language of their conquerors.[1]

Kretschmer begins with the consideration of the names of places in Asia Minor which contain a suffix--*νδ*--Ἄλινδα, Πίγινδα, Κάλυνδα, etc. These he identifies with the formation that shows in Greece—*νθ*—Τίρυνς, Τίρυνθος, Κόρινθος, Σάμινθος. If these words are not of Greek origin i may very well be that here, as elsewhere in foreign names, the Greeks have employed *θ* to designate an unaspirated surd mute that did not exactly correspond to the sound they wrote with *τ*. If the names with *-νδ-* in Asia Minor are to be connected with these we have the phonetic change of *-nt-* < *-nd-*. That this change actually occurs in Cilicia is proved by a comparison of simple names like Τερβέμασις, Τέρβημις, Τρέβημις with the compounds Ρωνδέρβεμις: Τβερασήτας, Τβερήμωσις but Ρωνδβέρρας Ταρκυνδβέρρας. So for labials in Lycia Πίγραμις, but Ρωμβίγρεμις Τροκομβίγρεμις. Curiously enough in Lycian inscriptions we find characters transliterated by *ñt* that are reflected in Greek alphabets by *-νδ-* which Kretschmer ingeniously explains by supposing that the Lycian writing is historical (for which he cites an interesting parallel), while the Greek is phonetic. That this agreement between Cilicia and Lycia is not a mere coincidence is shown by the fact that the intermediate Greek dialect of Pamphylia alone, of all the Greek dialects shows this change πένδε =πέντε. Hence it is most natural to assume that this change in the Pamphylian dialect is due to such a change in the native dialect of the aborigines, i. e., Pisidians or Cilicians, with whom the Greek colonists mingled. Thus we obtain evidence for this change throughout the whole of Southern Asia Minor. Consequently we must suppose that in the names for places ending in *-νδα -νδος* we have evidence of the extent of peoples speaking related languages over Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, while in the midst of them we find that the Phrygians and Bithynians have inserted themselves like a wedge. An examination of the names for persons found among these nations strengthens the proof that they are all speakers of related

[1]Cf. Hirt. Indo-Germanische Forschungen IV, 31 ff.; Hempl. op. cit. XX[1] X 39 ff.

languages or dialects; and as we possess sufficient knowledge of the Lycian to show that it belongs neither to the Indo-European nor to the Semitic family, we reach the conclusion that these peoples constitute a separate family of languages. Proper names like Τίρυνθ-, Κόρινθος, already mentioned show that this family must have once extended over the islands of the Ægean and part of the Balkan peninsula, and Kretschmer finds further proof for it in names for places formed with sigmatic suffixes in Greek, e. g., Πάρνασσος.

More than this Kretschmer does not consider proven, though he is not inclined to reject offhand Pauli's attempt to prove the extension of this people as far north as the Danube, and their identification with that mysterious people, the Etruscans in Italy.

The importance of these ethnological questions for history is indisputable; in them language is the surest leader, and the limits of its power of proof generally coincide with the limits of our knowledge.

So far I have not spoken of what would a few years ago have been brought to the front as the great historical achievement of the study of language, the reconstruction of the civilization of the Indo European people—the process which was inaugurated by Kuhn and Pictet and styled Linguistic Palaeontology. The method of this so-called science was to determine the vocabulary of the Indo-Europeans, and ascribe to their civilization the ideas and material objects for which they were found to have names and in this way determine the progress they had made, physically, mentally and morally, in civilization. Apparently the method is simplicity itself, but practically the difficulties in the way of a complete attainment of this object have so far, with a better understanding of the nature of language, been found insurmountable.

A consideration of the nature of these difficulties that are to be met may, as showing some of the directions that the future study of language may profitably take, form the close of this paper. In the first place a sketch of the civilization of a people upon such a basis can never be complete, we may in some cases prove that the word and consequently the thing that it designated existed at such and such a period. But our inability to

prove the existence of a word can never be taken as proof that the object designated by it did not exist, or was not known at the time in question. In other words the *argumentum ex silentio* is inadmissible. In this direction as regards the material civilization help is to be looked for from the further progress of prehistoric archæology, while a comparison of other peoples still living in what we may consider a similar stage of progress may throw light upon the other sides of the Indo-European civilization. So that the difficulty may become smaller and smaller, even though it may never be entirely eliminated.

More difficult still is the problem of determining what constituted the vocabulary of the "undivided Indo-Europeans." Words that are found in all Indo-European languages are rare indeed, and even these are open to double interpretation. They may be a common inheritance from the earliest period, of essential unity, or they may have arisen after the "first division" at some point in the Indo-European territory, and passed by a series of borrowing from one tribe to another. Much more frequently, however, we find a word represented in some members of the family only and the question then arises, did it previously exist in all and was it lost by some, or did its possession constitute a dialectic peculiarity characteristic of those members of the family, that have preserved it? To this must be added the difficulty caused by the lack of chronology for the reconstructed forms, which exposes us to the danger of ascribing to the same period forms and words that may in reality be as far, if not farther, apart than those of Chaucer and of modern times. Furthermore, as the meanings of words change, it is not always possible to determine exactly what meaning was assigned to the reconstructed form. Thus, on the basis of πόλις, Sanskrit *puris*, Lithuanian *pilìs*, we reconstruct *pl̥lis*, but we may not ascribe to it either the meaning of πόλις or of our "city."

The solution of these difficulties, so far as they may ever prove capable of solution, is to be approached by a more thorough and systematic study of etymology. Etymology for its own sake was more in vogue during the early period of the scientific study of language. In recent years the necessity of

determining exactly the laws that determine the changes of form which words have undergone has brought to the front the study of morphology and phonology. Etymology has, as Hirt says, been "selectively" pursued, and the principle of selection has been to choose those etymologies especially which will illustrate phonetic laws. Anyone who wishes to convince himself of this can do so by noticing how many words that are met with frequently in reading are absent from the indices of our grammars. This defect in grammatical work has been unavoidable, but it is pleasing to note that the pendulum is beginning to swing in the other direction, and there is a tendency to go systematically to work on the etymology of the different languages. This must lead to a more systematic study of the principles that govern the changes of meaning, which may help us to ascertain the causes that lead to the loss of linguistic material. After a thorough revision of our etymology we may also be in a better position to determine the relative chronology of the reconstructed forms, from a further insight either into phonetic laws, or into the problems of morphology. Of one thing we may feel assured, that no detail, if it brings some new element of truth to our knowledge, will be too insignificant to contribute in some way towards throwing light upon the way in which human civilization has developed.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

THE CENSUS OF QUIRINIUS.[1]

Of the four Evangelists, Saint Luke alone gives any important chronological details in connection with the birth of Jesus Christ. Saint Mark and Saint John begin their narratives with the preaching of the Baptist and the Baptism of our Lord. Saint Matthew speaks of His miraculous conception and of His birth from a Virgin Mother; as to the time and place of the latter event, he merely relates that it took place in Bethlehem of Judea during the reign of King Herod.[2] Saint Luke, on the other hand, describes it in connection with a political event, a general census of the Roman Empire, taken by command of Cæsar Augustus.[3] He relates that Mary and Joseph came to Bethlehem to be enrolled in the city of their origin, for they were "of the house and family of David."[4] While they were in this city, Jesus was born.

The passage which refers to the census is as follows: "Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐξῆλθην δήγμα παρά Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. ἄυτη (ἥ) ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο, ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κύρινου."[5] It is generally translated: "In those days there went forth from Cæsar Augustus a decree that the whole world should be enrolled. This first census took place while Quirinius was administering the province Syria."

The importance of the passage lies in this, that the synchronism here made by the Evangelist ought to be of material aid in determining the date of the birth of Christ. Unfortunately, contemporary historians seem to be silent about the census, and in consequence, the accuracy of Saint Luke's account has been questioned by many scholars. They contend that the Evangelist had in mind a census taken in Judea by the same Quirinius ten or twelve years later. As Saint Luke mentions this later enrollment in another passage,[6] they allege

[1] The following pages are the summary of a dissertation for the degree of Licentiate, presented June 1898, to the Faculty of Theology.
[2] Matt., I. [3] Luke I, 1–5. [4] Ibid., I, 4.
[5] Ibid, II, 2. [6] Acts, V, 37.

that by some confusion of ideas he antedated the census by connecting it with the birth of Christ, and thus was guilty of a grave chronological error.

As it is likewise to Saint Luke we owe our knowledge of the earliest labors of the Apostles for the spread of Christianity, the determination of his historical reliability becomes still more important. If it can be shown that he erred in the matter of the census, full confidence can be placed neither in his Gospel history nor in the Acts of the Apostles. It must have been, in his time, comparatively easy to discover the truth in regard to such a matter as a census of the people; if, therefore, Saint Luke has erred so glaringly in this case, he deserves to rank, not as a painstaking collector of facts, but as a careless and uncritical compiler of second-hand information.

Saint Luke has always been considered a careful historian. In many places he displays an accurate knowledge of the civil and political affairs of the Empire. Thus he says that the preaching of the Baptist began in "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, while Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judea and Herod tetrach of Galilee, Philip tetrach of Ituraea and Trachonitis and Lysanias tetrach of Abilene."[1] Another example of his accuracy occurs where he speaks of Sergius Paulus, governor of Cyprus as "*ἀνθύπατῳ Σεργίῳ Παυλίῳ*" (*Proconsule Sergio Paulo*[2]). It is true that Cyprus was at that time a propraetorian province,[3] yet Dio Cassius informs us that all provincial rulers were, by command of Augustus, called "Proconsules."[4] A writer who is so accurate in small details, is not likely to commit a grave error about a point that must have been of public knowledge during his time. The dating of this census would be for him the matter of a very simple investigation, and we must suppose that he wrote with care for the truth of what he recorded. Otherwise it must be admitted that he invented many other details with which he has surrounded the birth of Christ. For he says that, on account of the census, Mary and Joseph came to Bethlehem; that because of the crowds gathered in

[1] Luke III, 1, 2.
[2] Acts XIII, 7.
[3] Dio Cassius, LIV, 4.
[4] Ibid, LIII, 13, cf. Meyer, commentary, in loco.

the city for the same enrollment they were unable to find shelter in the public inns; that they were forced in consequence to take refuge in a cave, in which rude mansion Jesus was brought into the world.[1] Had Saint Luke invented these details merely for the purpose of impressing his readers, it would have been easy, at that time, to ascertain the truth about them and to correct the error.

From these considerations it is *antecedently* improbable that Saint Luke was mistaken in regard to this census. As he is known to be reliable in other cases, what he records may be held as certain until the contrary can be shown. The burden of proof lies with those who doubt his accuracy; they should produce some known fact or unimpeachable testimony contradicting his statement. If these are not forthcoming, his testimony should be accepted.

The reasons for which the truth of the passage has been questioned are as follows:

1. The silence of the contemporary profane historians proves that the Emperor Augustus issued no edict commanding a general census of the Empire.

2. Even had such an edict been issued, the country of Judea, as it was a kingdom allied to the Roman Empire, would not have been included in the census.

3. The census could not have been taken while Quirinius was governor of Syria, for Saint Luke places it in the last years of Herod's reign, at which time, not Quirinius, but Quintilius Varus was governor of Syria.

These arguments, which we shall examine in detail, are supported by Schürer,[2] Hock,[3] Mommsen,[4] Hase,[5] Winer,[6] Bleek,[7] Meyer,[8] Strauss,[9] Keim,[10] Reuss,[11] and others, while the principal upholders of Saint Luke's veracity are Huschke,[12]

[1] Luke, II, 1–7.
[2] The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ, Vol. II., Div. I, § 17, pp. 142, sqq.
[3] Römische Geschichte, I., 2, p. 212.
[4] Res Gestae Divi Augusti, p. 125.
[5] Leben Jesu, § 23.
[6] Real-Wörterbuch, article "Quirinius."
[7] Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien (1862) I, 66-75.
[8] Commentary, Luke II, 1-2.
[9] Leben Jesu (1864), pp. 336-340.
[10] Jesus of Nazara, II, 116-123.
[11] Histoire Evangélique, p. 143.
[12] Über den zur Zeit der Geburt Jesu Christi gehalten Census (1840).

Wieseler,[1] Zumpt,"[2] Lutteroth,[3] Aberle,[4] Wallon,[5] Ewald,[6] Caspari,[7] Schaff and Lange,[8] Lardner,[9] Ebrard,[10] Gloag,[11] Desjardins,[12] Marucchi,[13] and the Catholic Scripture commentators, such as Ubaldi,[14] Vigouroux,[15] Patrizi,[16] Cornely.[17]

I.

The arguments proving that the Emperor Augustus never commanded a general census are laid down by Dr. Schürer,[18] substantially as follows:

1. The Roman historians, Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius, who would have referred to this edict, make no mention of it.

2. The "Breviarium Imperii" of Augustus,[19] containing an account of the resources of the whole empire, in no way implies a general census.

3. An examination of a supposed reference to a general census in the pages of Dio Cassius,[20] shows that the historian merely related that Augustus, as a private man, had taken an account of his personal property.

4. In the Testament of Augustus, preserved on the "Monumentum Ancyranum," mention is made of three enrollments, but each of these was merely a census of Roman citizens.[21]

5. Leaving aside entirely the testimony of the early Fathers,

[1] Chronological Synopsis of the four Gospels (Cambridge, 1864) pp. 95-135.
[2] Das Geburtsjahr Christi, 1869, pp. 20-264.
[3] Le recensement de Quirinius en Judée, Paris, 1865.
[4] Uber den Statthalter Quirinius (*Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1865, pp. 103-148). 1868, p. 29; 1874, p. 663).
[5] De la croyance due à l'Evangile, 2e edit., pp. 330, sqq.
[6] History of Israel, VI, pp. 155-157.
[7] Chronological and geographical introduction to the Life of Christ, pp. 34-38.
[8] Commentary, Luke II, 1 2.
[9] Credibility of the Gospel History, Bk. II, ch 2 (Works, 1838, vol. I, p. 261 sqq.).
[10] Gospel History
[11] Introd. to Synoptic Gospels (Edinburg, 1895), St. Luke.
[12] Le recensement de Quirinius, in *Revue des questions historiques*, 1867, vol. II, p. 5, sqq.
[13] Il Censo di San Luca e Iinscrizione di Quirinio, in *Bessarione*, n. 9 (1897).
[14] Introductio ad Sacram Scripturam, vol. I, Thesis XVI, p. 311 sqq.
[15] Le Nouveau Testament et les découvertes archéologiques modernes (1890) l. II, ch. 2.
[16] De Evangeliis, l. 2, diss. 18.
[17] Introducti › ad Scripturam Sacram, vol. III.
[18] Op. cit., p. 114.
[19] Tacitus, Annales, I, 4; Suetonius, Octavius, 101; Dio Cassius, LIII, 30.
[20] Dio Cassius, LIV., 35.
[21] cf. Mommsen, Res gestae Divi Augusti, p. 125.

who cannot be considered impartial witnesses, there remain still the reference in the works of Cassiodorius,[1] Orosius[2], Isidore of Seville[3] and Suidas.[4] These writers lived in the fifth, seventh and tenth centuries after Christ, and are too far removed from the first century to be considered independent witnesses. The fact that Cassiodorius used older documents, the writings of the "Agrimensores" is no guarantee that Saint Luke was not his original authority on the matter of the census. Suidas gives some details about the manner in which the Emperor's order was carried out, but the fact that he uses the identical words of Saint Luke (*ἄυτη ἥ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο*) plainly shows his dependence upon the Gospel.

6. The so-called "Imperial survey" of Augustus is supposed to confirm the fact of a general census. Agrippa, indeed, collected materials for a map of the world[5]), but it is doubtful whether this work rests upon a general survey of the empire, ordered by Augustus. That such a survey was begun by Julius Cæsar and completed under Augustus is affirmed by the cosmographers, Julius Honorius and Ethicus Ister, but this would have had to do with merely geographical investigations.

The first apparent contradiction of the Gospel narrative lies in the silence of the Roman historians, Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius. They would naturally be expected to mention such an important event as a general census, but the only enrollments recorded by them are lists of Roman citizens.

The nature and present condition of the works of these writers weaken this argument. The Annals of Tacitus begin with the reign of Tiberius, the successor of Augustus. He is not, therefore, expected to have recorded every event of the time of the latter.

The work of Dio Cassius is, unfortunately, not complete enough to show whether or not he has mentioned the census. The fifty-fifth book, comprising the years A. U. C. 745 to 761 exists only in fragments. As Suetonius is not properly a his-

[1] Variorum, III, 52.
[2] Histor. VI, 22, 6.
[3] Etymologiarum, V. 36, 4.
[4] Lexicon, *Απογραφη, Αυγουστος.*
[5] Pliny, Hist. Nat., III, 2, 17

torian but rather a compiler of biographies, it is not suprising that he may have omitted all reference to the census.[1]

The negative argument from the silence of contemporaries avails only when a certain writer could not fail to have known an alleged fact, and having known it could not fail to have mentioned it in a certain work in which it is ignored. But when neither the scope nor the purpose of the work require a reference to it, then its absence is no argument against its probability.[2] Neither the scope nor the purpose of Tacitus or Suetonius required them to notice the census, and the condition of the fifty-fifth book of Dio Cassius hinders us from knowing whether he has mentioned it or not.

Besides, the mention of the "Breviarium Imperii" by each of these writers[3] is an indirect confirmation of St. Luke's statement. This "libellus" described *all* the resources of the empire, not only of Rome and its provinces, but also of the allied kingdoms (*regna*); it enumerated all the soldiers, not only the citizens, but also the allies (quantum civium *sociorumque* in armis); it contained an account of the tribute and customs (*tributa aut vectigalia*), and was written entirely by the hand of the emperor. Such an exact description of the imperial resources could not easily have been made without a census and one that included also the allied kingdoms. Augustus was the great organizer of the Roman government and under him especially the system of taxation and tribute-levying upon the dependencies of the empire was perfected. It is evident that a general census is an essential preliminary to a perfect system of taxation.

Schürer's interpretation of the reference in Dio Cassius to a census of "παντα τα ὑπάρχοντα οἵ," taken by Augustus, is not accepted by all scholars. Aberle[4] and Marquardt[5] are of

[1] Of the eighty books of Dio Cassius relating the Roman History from the foundation of the City to 229 A. D., only books 37–54 remain complete. They cover the period from 689 to 744 B. C. The later books are known to us only through excerpts and summaries.

[2] See De Smedt, Principes de la Critique Historique, pp. 226–238.

[3] Tacitus, Annales I, 11, "Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna . . . tributa aut vectigalia . . . quaecuncta sua manu praescripserat Augustus . . .;" Suetonius, Octavius, 101, Dio Cassius, LVI, 33.

[4] *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1874, p. 665 sqq.

[5] Handbuch der Römisch. Alterthümer, p. 169.

opinion that instead of being translated "all his personal property," it should read, "all that is subject to him" (*in a special manner*), hence, at least, the provinces under control of legates appointed directly by him.

The next point is, that the writers who confirm Saint Luke's statement are unworthy of credence. Leaving aside the early Fathers, there are Orosius, Isidore of Seville, Cassiodorius and Suidas.[1] It is claimed that they drew their inspiration from Saint Luke.

The testimonies of Cassiodorius and Suidas are worthy of our consideration. The former, who lived 480–575 A. D., states that at the time of Augustus the Roman world was divided into parts and described by a census.[2] The passage shows no signs of having been copied from Saint Luke; the mere fact of the writer's Christianity is not sufficient to discredit it. It is admitted that he employed much earlier sources, the writings of the "Agrimensores," and from a reference in the same epistle to a certain "Gromaticus," it is probable that Hyginus, surnamed "Gromaticus," a writer on land surveying, of the time of Trajan (97–117 A. D.), was one of his authorities. It is unjust and uncritical, therefore, to reject his testimony upon a mere suspicion that he may have relied on the Gospel.

Suidas, the lexicographer, who wrote about the tenth century, has noted some details in regard to the census. Under the word "Απογραφὴ" he says that Augustus, on becoming sole master of the imperial power, chose twenty men of proved integrity and sent them throughout the empire to take a census of persons and goods. Under the word "Αυγουστος Καίσαρ" he says also that Augustus ordered a numbering of all the inhabitants of the empire, as he wished to know the number of his subjects.

In spite of these details, given by no other writer, because he makes use of the words of Saint Luke ("ἄυτη ἡ ἀπογραθὴ πρώτὴ εγένετο) he is said to have merely copied from the Evangelist. The coincidence shows indeed that he was acquainted with the Gospel and probably took these words from it, but he must have drawn the accompanying details from other sources.

[1] Loc. cit.
[2] Variorum, lib. IV, ep. 52, apud Migne, PL., LXIX, 608.

Though his work dates only from the tenth century, it must be remembered that he had access to numbers of ancient monuments that have since disappeared. He might easily have employed some documents that have perished since his time.

His testimony is indirectly confirmed from other sources. Two bronze tablets, bearing the fragments of a speech delivered by the Emperor Claudius before the Roman Senate in the year A. U. C. 801 (A. D. 47), were discovered in 1547 on the hill of San Sebastian, near Lyons. The fragments contain a reference to a census taken in Gaul by Drusus, father of this emperor.[1] Now, Tacitus mentions a census taken in Gaul by Germanicus, brother of Claudius, in the year A. U. C. 767 (A. D. 13).[2] The one noted in the inscription must have been earlier. Lutteroth assigns it to the year A. U. C. 742 (B. C. 12). The same census is mentioned in the so-called "Epitome" of Titus Livius, erroneously ascribed to that author.[3] The work is certainly of the first century, and when the writer says of Gaul "a Druso census actus est," it certainly confirms the fragment.

There is also the "Imperial Survey" of Augustus, said by Dr. Schürer to be very problematical. It is described in the famous "Cosmographia" of Ethicus Ister, a work of the fourth century.[4] The work was completed in thirty-two years, having been begun under Julius Cæasar and finished by Augustus. Pliny speaks of Augustus and Agrippa in connection with the work and mentions the map supposed to have been based upon its measurements, the celebrated "Orbis pictus" of Agrippa.[5] Frontinus speaks of a certain Balbus as overseer of the work during the time of Augustus.[6] The fact that such a work was undertaken lends a weight of inherent probability to Saint Luke's statement about a general census, as a census would follow very naturally upon a topographical survey of the empire. According to existing accounts the survey began in A. U. C. 709 (45 B. C.) and was finished about A. U. C.

[1] H. Lutteroth, Le recensement de Quirinius en Judée, Paris, 1865, pp. 90–97.
[2] Annales, I, 31.
[3] Epitome, l. 36, apud Desjardins, loc. cit.
[4] D' Avezac, "Mémoir sur Ethicus," in "Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles letters," t. II, 1852, pp. 230–431.
[5] Hist. Nat., III, 3.14, and VI, 31.14.
[6] Frontinus, De Coloniis libellus apud Goesius, Rei agrariae auctores, 1674.

741 (12 or 13 B. C.). This latter date is sufficiently close to that of the birth of our Lord to warrant the supposition that the census might have followed upon the survey.

Tertullian says that the records of the census were preserved in the archives of Rome.[1] Professor Ramsay rightly remarks that Tertullian did not merely copy Saint Luke, for he asserts that the census was held under Sentius Saturninus.[2] Most probably he was acquainted with a document which spoke of a census held 9–8 B. C., at which time Saturninus was governor of Syria.

In the article quoted already, Professor Ramsay adduces further evidence of the existence of a general census plan. The discovery was made a few years ago that periodical enrollments were made in Egypt under the Roman empire. It was proved with certainty that they took place in the years (A.D.) 89–90, 103–104, 117–118 and so on, to the year 229–230, that is, at intervals of fourteen years.

It is probable that any important political device, existing as early as the time of Vespasian, originated under Augustus. In fact, if we divide the years, from the beginning of Augustus' reign to 89–90, into periods of fourteen years, most of the census enumerations known from history will fall in one or other of the census periods thus formed. Thus in the year 9–8 B. C., fourteen years after Augustus assumed the "Tribunicia potestas" a census was taken of the Roman citizens, as attested by the "Monumentum Ancyranum."

In the year 5–6 A. D., which would be the date of the second census period, what is known as the second census of Quirinius in Judea was held.[3] That this census extended also to Syria is shown by an inscription, long considered a forgery, but proved to be genuine by the discovery of the original stone at Venice, in 1880.[4] The inscription records that by order of Quirinius, governor of Syria, Q. Aemilius Secundus made a census of the city of Apamaea, and numbered in it 170,000 inhabitants.

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[1] Adv. Marcion, IV, Migne, PL. II, 370.
[2] Adv. Judaeos, 9, Migne, PL. II, 9; Ramsay, article in *Expositor*, May, 1897.
[3] Acts, V, 37; Josephus, Antiquities. XVII, 13, 5; XVIII, 1, 1.
[4] Ramsay, in op. cit. pp. 346–7; Vigouroux, op. cit. p. 108–9, where the inscription may be seen.

In A. D. 36, in the fourth census-period, the Clitae in Cilicia rose in revolt because they were compelled "nostrum in modum deferre census."[1]

In the year 47-48, A. D. the Emperor Claudius numbered the Roman citizens;[2] by calculation it is found that in A. D. 47-48 fell the fifth census period.

From these facts, taken together, though each is slight in itself, comes a probability that the Egyptian census-periods are not peculiar to Egypt but frequently coincide with the taking of the census in some other part of the Empire, and that the Egyptian custom springs out of some principle of wider application. In several cases the Roman historians record only the census of Roman citizens, and with true Roman pride regard the census of the subject-population as beneath the dignity of historical record. Augustus, too, was silent about this fact in the "Monumentum Ancyranum." But we find also that in this document he makes no mention of his reorganization of the provinces.[3]

After considering all the above references, it can be safely said that there is no evidence of Saint Luke's inaccuracy, on this point at least. True, we have noted the absence of direct confirmation in contemporary profane writings, but that has not been inexplicable. Indirect confirmation of the Evangelist from both profane and sacred sources, contemporary and sub-contemporary, has been found in abundance. Passing references in the pages of historians, parallel passages on the monuments and records of different parts of the Roman Empire seem to indicate the existence of a scheme of periodical enrollment; in such a scheme could the census mentioned by Saint Luke have been included.

II.

1. It is objected that, because Judea was, in the time of Herod, not a Roman province but a kingdom allied to the empire, it could not have been included in a general census, had such been commanded. An allied kingdom, though under

[1] Tacitus, Annales, VI, 41.
[2] Ibid., XI. 25; Suetonius, Claudius, 16.
[3] Ramsay, loc. cit., p. 347.

the suzerainty of the Roman Empire, possessed its own ruler and was governed, to a great extent, by its own laws. Herod was therefore an almost independent sovereign, and, besides, was treated as a friend by the Emperor; it cannot be supposed, then, that a Roman valuation census would be made in his country.

2. Tacitus mentions a census taken in the allied kingdom of Cilicia Tracheia, under Archelaus,[1] but the passage implies that he did this "after the Roman plan."

3. References in Josephus and other writers, to Herod's dependence upon the imperial power, merely prove that this king was in some way subject to the emperor. They furnish absolutely no proof of the possibility of a Roman census of Judea. Furthermore such an event as the first introduction into the country of a Roman census would surely have been noticed by the Jewish historian, yet he makes no mention of it.

For the above reasons,[1] Saint Luke is said to have erred by applying to Judea a principle that could never have been applied to that country—the principle of census-taking under an edict from the central government.

With regard to the allied kingdoms, it has been well remarked that some authors write of them at the present day as though they had been absolutely independent states. Then numerous quotations prove that they possessed the mere shadow of independence, those who in this case doubt Saint Luke's accuracy admit that they prove everything except the possibility of these kingdoms being subjected to an imperial census. They grant to Cæsar the power to commend any act, to insist upon any change in the policy of the government, even to remit the taxes of the people, yet they deny him the power to command the same king to number his people.

That the independence of an allied kingdom was of a merely nominal character may easily be shown from the histories of the times. From Strabo we learn that they were instituted as a preparatory step to the incorporation of a country into a Roman province[3] Regions not yet ripe for administration as provinces were first made into dependent kingdoms, but the

[1] Annales, VI, 41.
[2] Cf. Schürer, op. cit. pp. 122–132.
[3] Strabo, Bk. XIV, apud Ramsay, loc. cit.

king was merely an instrument in the hands of the emperor. Two examples showing this are found in the pages of Tacitus. King Archelaus was enticed from Cappadocia to Rome, and upon accusations which every one knew to be false was deposed by the emperor.[1] Rhescuporis, king of Thrace, was, for his crimes, banished from the kingdom by order of Cæsar.

Suetonius, speaking of the manner in which the "Reges socii" were treated by Augustus, says: "Reges socios, etiam inter semetipsos, necessitudinibus mutuis junxit . . . nec aliter universos quam membra, partesque Imperii curae habuit."[3] Tacitus has preserved an example of a census taken in an allied kingdom, that of Cilicia Tracheia, governed by King Archelaus.[4] To overcome the opposition of the tribe of the Clitae to this measure, it was necessary to call in the aid of a Roman army. The census was always the first step to the Romanizing of a country. We cannot conceive that Archelaus would, as some have held, begin, of his own accord, the Romanization of his kingdom. Turning now to the kingdom of Judea, we shall see whether or not Herod was a semi-independent sovereign. It is claimed that the many passages cited from Josephus to show his subordinate position prove nothing except that he was not entirely independent of Rome. An examination of these passages, arranged in chronological order, will enable us to determine this for ourselves.

In the first place he was sent to Judea by "Caesar, Antony and the Senate."[5] When he had taken the city of Jerusalem, he besought the Roman generals to restrain the soldiers from plunder, as he did not wish the Romans to make him king of a desert.[6] It is useful to insert here the statement of Appian that Herod, king of the Idumeans, was among those who had to pay tribute,[7] and this in spite of the fact that Herod and Antony were always friends.[8] Note, too, that when Pompey took the city of Jerusalem, he made it tribu-

[1] Annales, II, 42.
[2] Ibid., II, 67.
[3] Octavius, 48.
[4] Annales, VI, 41.
[5] Josephus, Wars, I, 14-15.
[6] Ibid , 18.
[7] Appian, de Bello Civ IV (apud Lardner, op. cit.).
[8] Josephus, Wars, I, 14.

tary to Rome.[1] Further, a certain Fabatus is spoken of as the steward of Cæsar in Judea, while Herod was ruling.[2] Herod, too, as being in especially high favor with Augustus, was enrolled among the Procurators of Syria.[3]

Then Herod's sons were accused of rebellion against him, he could not punish them without the permission of Caesar,[4] and when he himself, without this permission, made war upon Obodas, King of Arabia, the emperor wrote to him angrily, saying that while in the past he had treated him as a friend he should now use him as a subject.[5]

In the latter part of Herod's reign, the Jewish people were obliged to swear fealty to Caesar and to the king's government. The Pharisees, to the number of six thousand, refused to do this and were punished by a fine.[6]

After Herod's death, Archelaus, by the will of Caesar, succeeded his father in Judea.[7] Shortly after his accession the Jews petitioned the emperor to be placed under the government of the "Praeses" of Syria. They alleged the harsh treatment that they had received from Herod and their fear of receiving the same from his son.[8] Finally, in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus, Augustus deposed him, incorporated his kingdom into the province of Syria and banished him to Vienne.[9]

To an unbiassed reader and comparer of the quoted passages, Herod's fancied and much-insisted upon independence appears but poorly supported. The most evident conclusion is that in Judea the emperor had complete authority, while Herod was merely his subordinate officer. If the emperor could dispose of the king at his will, there was nothing to prevent him ordering that the subjects of the same king should be numbered and their property valued.

Nor need we seek far for a motive for such a proceeding. The census was but a preliminary step to the formation of a

[1] Ib., Antiq. XIV, 4.
[2] Ib., Wars, I, 29.
[3] Ib., Antiq., I, 10.
[4] Antiq. XVI, 11.
[5] Ib., XVI, 9, 3.
[6] Ib., XVII, 2.
[7] Ib., Wars, II, 2.
[8] Antiq., XVII, 11.
[9] Ib., XVII, 13; XVIII, 1.

province. From the fact that Judea was reduced to the condition of a province but a few years after the death of Herod, we may conclude that the emperor had this in mind long before it was carried out.

The silence of Josephus is another objection to the fact of a census in Judea. In his detailed account of the reign of Herod there is no mention of such measure.

Yet this is by no means extraordinary. For the historian was, in the first place, a Jew and a priest, and, secondly, a pensioner of the Emperor Vespasian. In his history he had to vindicate the Roman officials in Judea, and at the same time to avoid offending his fellow-countrymen. Hence, though he is, as a rule, a reliable, he is by no means an absolutely accurate historian. For example, he tells of the many favors of Julius Caesar, Augustus and others to the Jews, yet omits a certain journey through Judea made by the young Caius Caesar in the beginning of the reign of Archelaus. Suetonius relates it, and with it a circumstance which accounts for its omission by Josephus, his failure to attend the services in the Temple.[1] Again, in his history of the Jewish wars he fails to mention a certain battle which influenced the ruin of the Jewish race. From his lips alone we learn of it.[2]

Further, in his account of the siege of Jerusalem, he says that the Temple was burned despite the efforts of Titus to save it. Sulpicius Severus in his chronicle says that its destruction was determined upon at a council of Titus and his generals. A study of this chronicle has convinced Bernays that Sulpicius Severus copied entire passages of Tacitus, from works of his now lost. Hence it would appear that the Roman historian contradicted Josephus, who probably wrote his account of it at the command of Titus himself.[3]

From the above-mentioned fact of a Jewish embassy praying for annexation to the province of Syria, we may judge that a census would have caused no general revolt; hence there is so much the less reason for his mentioning it. For his account of Herod's reign, Josephus drew largely from the work of Nicholas of Damascus, a friend and flatterer of that king, and

[1] Octavius, 93.
[2] Josephus, Life, 6.
[3] J. Bernays, On the Chronicle of Sulpicius Severus.

a writer who, according to Josephus, wrote his history so as please Herod, "touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, openly excusing many of his notorious crimes and diligently concealing them."[1] Evidently the census was not a source of honor but of mortification to Herod. From the character of Nicholas we may conclude that he did not give a particular account of the affair, nor had Josephus any inducement to supply the defect.

There is, however, a passage in Josephus which seems to refer to a census of some kind. Remarking upon the opposition of the Pharisees to the existing government, he says: "Accordingly, when the whole Jewish nation took an oath to be faithful to Caesar and to the king's government, these men, to the number of six thousand, refused to swear."[2] Without a census of some kind it would be impossible accurately to estimate the number. And as a census would be accompanied by an oath of allegiance, this passage strengthens the contention that a Roman census in Judea during the lifetime of Herod is within the bounds of probability. The testimonies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian afford further proof of the fact. In his first apology, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus, Justin mentions the census as follows: "Now there is a certain village (Bethlehem) in the land of Judaea, in which Jesus Christ was born, as you can learn from the returns made at the time of Quirinius, who became your first procurator in Judea."[3] Tertullian also, in two of his apologetical works, bears witness to the same fact, and appeals to the Roman archives for support.[4] Neither Justin nor Tertullian would have employed against their enemies this proof of Christ's birth, had they not positive evidence of it. Were it false, the misstatement could easily be discovered and confuted.

From this we may safely conclude that the impossibility of a Roman census in Judea during the reign of Herod cannot be shown. The relations between the empire and the allied kingdoms, particularly in the case of Judea, prove clearly

[1] Josephus, Antiq. XIV. 1; XVI. 7.
[2] Ibid., XVII. 2, 6.
[3] Apol. I. 34, apud Migne, PG. VI. 383.
[4] Adv. Judaeos, 9, apud Migne PL. II. 624; and adv. Marcionem, IV, 19 PL. II. 406.

enough that a Roman census could and would be held there. And as to Josephus, while it is not certain that he has failed to mention the census, the fact of his omitting it is not proof sufficient that it did not take place.

III.

Granting that a Roman census was taken in Judea during the reign of Herod, was Quirinius then administering the province of Syria?

Both Saint Luke and Saint Matthew place the birth of Christ in the reign of Herod,[1] hence, according to Saint Luke, Quirinius was governor of Syria during the lifetime of Herod.

Now, both Josephus and Tacitus assert that the governor of Syria at the time of Herod's death was P. Quintilius Varus.[2] Josephus furthermore says that the immediate predecessor of Varus was C. Sentius Saturninus.[3] Saturninus, then, was governor of Syria A. U. C. 746–748, and Varus A. U. C. 748–750.[4] Hence, in the last years of Herod's reign, when Christ was born, Quirinius could not have been governor of Syria, nor could the census have been taken during his term of office.

That this difficulty has always been considered a serious one is evident from the various solutions proposed in order to make Saint Luke's account conform with that of profane writers. Several emendations of the Greek text have been proposed; in reference to these it is sufficient to say that none of them are satisfactory. They are all forced explanations, based upon the supposition that Quirinius had but one term as governor of Syria. That he was governor at the time of the deposition of Archelaus (about A. D. 7) we know from Josephus[5] and from the inscription of Q. Aemilius Secundus, already quoted. Both Josephus and Tacitus speak of Varus as governor at Herod's death, but from the accession of Archelaus to his banishment, Josephus does not speak of the governor of Syria. This is to be borne in mind in considering the possibility that Quirinius had an earlier term as governor.

[1] Luke, I, 5; Matthew, II, 1.
[2] Josephus, Antiq. XVII, 5, 9; Wars, I, 22, 23; Tacitus, Histor. V, 9.
[3] Antiq. XVII.
[4] Mommsen, Res gestae divi Augusti, l. c.
[5] Antiq. XVIII, 1.

From contemporary historians, and from inscriptions, much can be gleaned of the life of Quirinius. He was born at Lanuvium.[1] Josephus states that he was a Roman senator and had passed through all the other magistracies until he became consul.[2] In the order of advancement rigorously kept, the Roman officer would be successively, quinquevir, quaestor, tribune, praetor and finally consul.[3] The first reference to his public life concerns his praetorship. Florus says that he subdued the tribes of Marmarides and Garamantes, occupying the country to the south of Cyrenaica, alongside of Egypt.[4] Professor Mommsen shows that only as governor of the province of Crete and Cyrenaica, a praetorian province, could he have done this[5].

In the year 742 A. U. C. he was consul with M. V. Messala Barbatus Appianus. Tacitus informs us that he subdued the Homonades, a tribe of Cilicia, and for this he received the honors of a triumph.[6]

When Caius Caesar, the adopted son of Augustus, was sent into Armenia, Quirinius accompanied him as tutor.[7] In 759 A. U. C. he was sent into Syria as governor of that province, and at this time directed the census taken in Judea at the banishment of Archelaus.[8]

Tacitus again shows him at Rome, A. U. C. 769, petitioning the emperor in behalf of his kinsman, Libo Drusus, and[9] finally tells us that he died there A. U. C. 774.[10]

It is to be noted in this sketch that no information is given as to the public offices held by him from the time of his consulate, A. U. C. 742, to that of his campaign against the Homonades, about A. U. C. 750, nor are we told in what official capacity he subdued these tribes. Now, the eastern part of Cilicia, which they occupied, very probably was at that

[1] Tacitus, Annales III, 22, 48.
[2] Antiq. XVIII, 1.
[3] Cf. E. Desjardins, in *Revue des questions historiques*, t. II, p. 14.
[4] Florus, Epitome, II, 31.
[5] Res gestae divi Augustus, p. 120.
[6] Annales, III, 48, cf. Strobo, XII, 6.5.
[7] Tacitus, Annales, III, 22, 48.
[8] Josephus, Antiq., XVII, 13.
[9] Annales, II, 30.
[10] Ibid. III, 48.

time under the jurisdiction of the governor of Syria.[1] In accordance with the Roman method of provincial government, only the governors of proconsular provinces, such as Syria, could command an army, make war or preserve the peace of the province. Hence, unless we suppose for Quirinius an entirely special mission as commander of the army, he may at that time have been governor of Syria.

The famous Tiburtine inscription, discovered in 1764 at Tivoli, the ancient Tibur, has thrown much light on this question. Sanclemente, in 1793, conjectured that it could apply only to Quirinius,[2] and Prof. Theodor Mommsen, of Berlin, in 1865, arrived at the same conclusion,[3] which is now almost universally accepted.[4]

The fragments of the inscription, which can be found in the work of Prof. Mommsen, quoted below, are as follows:

EGEM · QVA · REDACTA · IN · POT
AVGVSTI · POPVLIQVE · ROMANI · SENAT
SVPPLICATIONES · BINAS · OB · RES · PROSP
IPSI · ORNAMENTA · TRIVMPF
PROCONSVL · ASIAM · PROVINCIAM ³ OP
DIVI · AVGVSTI · TERVM · SVRIAM · ET · PH

The fragment does not contain the name of the one in whose honor the inscription was set up, but it furnishes a few indications that may help to discover it.

1. He conquered some nation for Rome, for this was twice voted "Supplicationes" and decreed the honors of a triumph.

2. He was made by Augustus proconsul of Asia.

3. He was twice governor of the province of Syria and Phœnicia.

4. He outlived Augustus, for the title "Divus" was not applied to the Roman emperors during their lifetime.

The inscription, therefore, must apply to one of the governors of Syria, the one to whom these four indications will direct it.

[1] Zumpt, Das Geburtsjahr Christi; Mommsen, The Provinces of the Roman Empire, Vol. I., p. 363.

[2] De vulgaris aerae emendatione, p. 4 4–426.

[3] Res gestae Divi Augusti, Berlin, 1865, Appendix.

[4] Cf. Lutheroth, Aberle, Desjardins, Gloag, Ubaldi, op. cit.

The list of the Syrian governors, as far as it is now known, is about as follows:[1]

1. M. T. Cicero,	A. U. C. 724 or 727	B. C. 30 or 27	
2. Varro,	" 729 – 731	" 29 – 23	
3. M. Titius, between	" 741 and 745	" 13 and 10	
4. Sentius Saturninus	" 746 – 748	" 8 – 6	
5. P. Quintilius Varus	" 748 – 750	" 6 – 4	
6. ——— ———	" 750 – 753	" 4 – 1	
7. Caius Cæsar	" 753 – 757	" 1 – –	A. D. 4,
8. L. Volusius Saturninus	" 757 – 758		" 4–5.
9. P. Sulpicius Quirinius	" 759 – 763		" 5–9.
10. C. M. Creticus Silanus	" 763 – 770		" 9–16.

It will be noticed that, according to this list, none of the Syrian governors held more than one term of office, and also that there is a gap in the list, between the years A. U. C. 750 and 753, B. C. 4 to 1. Professor Mommsen concludes that the name to be supplied in this gap is that of one of those already in the list, and to that one the inscription applies.

The learned professor shows that none of the officials included in the list, with the exception of Quirinius fulfills the conditions implied in the inscription. He, on the contrary, answers to them remarkably. We have seen that he subdued the tribe of the Homonades, and for this conquest received at Rome the honors of a triumph. Mommsen also shows that in the natural course of events he must have been proconsul of Asia. He died in the year 774 and hence was still alive at the time of Augustus' death. Hence he concludes that the Tivoli fragment refers to Quirinius, that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria, and that his first term of office extended from A. U. C. 750 to 753 or thereabouts. With this solution he restores the inscription as follows :

P. SVLPICIVS P. F. QVIRINIVS, COS.
PR. PRO CONSVL CRETAM ET CYRENAS PROVINCIAM OPTINVIT
LEGATVS PR. PR. DIVI AVGVSTI SYRIAM ET PHOENICEM OPTINENS
BELLVM GESSIT CVM GENTE HOMONADENSIVM
QVAE INTERFECERAT AMYNTAM
REGEM, QVA REDACTA IN POTESTATEM DICTIONEMQVE DIVI
AVGVSTI POPVLIQVE ROMANI, SENATUS DIS IMMORTALIBVS
SVPPLICATIONES BINAS OB RES PROSPERE GESTAS AB EO ET
IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIVMPHALIA DECREVIT
PROCONSVL ASIAM PROVINCIAM OPTINVIT LEGATVS PR PR.
DIVI AVGVSTI ITERVM SYRIAM ET PHOENICEM OPTINVIT.

[1] Cf. Mommsen, Res Gestae Divi Augusti, p. 115 ; Schürer, op. cit.

Our chief interest in the restoration of this inscription lies in the fact that it makes Quirinius governor of Syria, about the time of which Saint Luke speaks. Yet, even if this be granted, it by no means disposes of the difficulty in regard to the date of the census. For according to Saint Luke, the birth of Christ and the census took place before the death of Herod, in A. U. C. 750.[1] On the other hand, Josephus tells us that Quintilius Varus succeeded Sentius Saturninus as governor about two years before the death of Herod, and that he was still in office at the decease of that king.[2] Hence the census did not take place under Quirinius, and there is a contradiction between Saint Luke and Josephus.

But in view of the fact that the earlier term of Quirinius as governor of Syria is almost established by the aforementioned inscription, the seeming contradiction can be explained in various ways. It has already been mentioned that Quirinius, in conducting the war against the Homonades, very probably did so as governor of Syria, and yet Varus is named as governor at the same time. The only hypothesis that can account for this seeming contradiction is that Quirinius was appointed to the governorship before the death of Herod, but, owing to his being employed in a remote part of the province by military affairs, Varus still retained the civil administration at Antioch. It is certain that men were appointed by the Roman government as legates for even proconsular provinces, without at once assuming control of them. We read, too, of governors who, during their whole term of office, did not once visit their province.[3] These men fulfilled their duties by means of procurators.[4] Josephus refers to a certain Sabinus as procurator of Syria, during the troubles following the death of Herod.[5] He speaks of a conflict between this procurator and Varus, whom he calls the governor, and in the outcome, the former appears to possess an authority equal to, if not greater than that of the latter. Yet under Roman administration the procurator was always an inferior officer of the governor.

[1] Cf. Schürer, op. cit., vol. I, p. 464, note 165.
[2] Antiq. XVII, 5 and 9. cf. Tacitus, Hist., V, 9.
[3] Tacitus, Annales, VI. 27.
[4] Aberle, apud Desjardins, loc. cit.
[5] Antiq., XVII, 9; Wars, II. 2.

Hence we are led to believe that Varus had not the real authority, but that Sabinus took the place of the one who was really governor. And if Quirinius were governor and absent, this contradiction is solved by the hypothesis that Sabinus was his lieutenant, and that Varus still remained in Syria because of the troubles of the last year of Herod's reign. Hence, if the census took place before the death of Herod and after Quirinius had been appointed to succeed Varus, it was proper for Saint Luke to have attached to it the name of the former, the real governor of Syria.[1]

Some are inclined to consider Quirinius as having been charged with the special mission of taking the census of the people, while Varus was governor. The fact that he succeeded Varus accounts for Saint Luke's mention of him as "ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρίνου." Professor Marucchi, among others, inclines to this view, and sees in the fact that Quirinius was employed to subdue the rebellious Homonades a confirmation of his opinion.[2] This theory also is a tenable one, for although it was not customary for any other than the governor of a province to command the army there, yet circumstances might render it necessary. However, the fact that Saint Luke speaks of Quirinius as actually governing Syria at the time of the census is an objection against this view.

There remains a third solution of the difficulty which will also satisfactorily explain the apparent contradictions in Saint Luke's account. Even if Quirinius was not made legate of Syria until A. U. C. 750, Saint Luke might have attributed the census to him without error. A census at that time would not be the work of a single day, nor even of a single year. Nothing therefore is to hinder us from believing that the census was ordered and begun under Varus, or perhaps under Sentius Saturninus, and not completed until the time of Quirinius. The years B. C. 9 to 8 are the ones to which the first census period of Augustus has been assigned by Professor Ramsay, and we have seen that Sentius Saturninus governed Syria B. C. 9 to 8. Tertullian states expressly that the census took place under Saturninus and refers to the Roman archives for confirmation of his testimony.

[1] This solution is adopted by Aberle, Gloag, Desjardins, Vigouroux, &c., loc. cit.
[2] In "*Bessarione*," loc. cit.

This, too, is a probable hypothesis, and it is quite possible that Saint Luke's knowing that the census was completed under Quirinius, assigned it to him. True the word here used, "ἐγένετο" primarily means "took place," not "was completed," but Saint Luke has used it, in another place, in the sense of "was completed."[1] He may have done so in this case also.

It is easy to perceive, then, that Saint Luke's reliability in the question of the census of Quirinius is not difficult of demonstration. Whichever of the solutions proposed is accepted by the student, he can see that the boast of Saint Luke's accusers cannot be made good. They who deny so readily Saint Luke's accuracy do so without a proper regard for history. When it is question of the credibility of a sacred writer, with an obviously unfair spirit they demand an enormous mass of confirmatory evidence before they will accept his statement, while they receive with no hesitation, that of such a writer as Josephus, who has been proved to be unreliable in many instances. For the proper study of history a sceptical frame of mind is necessary, but not the scepticism which denies the credibility of a writer just because he happens to be a Christian.

That we are unable to fix with more precision the details of this and many other events of the history of the Church in the first centuries is due to the meagre accounts that we have of this period and to the unsettled state of its chronology. It is to be noted that the researches of the best scholars in the domain of early history tend ever to vindicate the trustworthiness of the sacred writers. It is but a short time since the Acts of the Apostles was attacked by the Tübingen rationalistic school as a forgery of late date, yet today its authenticity is proved beyond a doubt. So, too, we may hope that later discoveries will throw new light on this question of the census. Through the able critical work of Professor Mommsen on the Tivoli fragment one great difficulty has been almost removed; without doubt other monuments exist capable of clearing up those which remain.

DONALD MCKINNON.

[1] Acts, XI, 28.

A RECENT WORK ON THE TRINITY.[1]

The revealed doctrine of the divine Three-in-one became a matter of universal attention and inquiry early in Christian thought. The sublimity of the idea in itself, the beauty of its expression in the pages of Holy Writ, the distracting heresies that like so many additional clouds descended upon it, contributed one and all to place it in the foremost rank of discussion and investigation. The best intellects of the East and the West devoted themselves ardently to its study, searching the Scriptures for stray bits of meaning and piecing these latter together into a grand mosaic, whence the mind might gaze upon the revealed picture as a whole and be stimulated to further inquiry into its rational background. Education, environment, differences of language and the desire to refute hostile theories indigenous, so to speak, to the soil of East and West alike, quite naturally brought about a variety of viewpoints and a number of slight divergences in exposition, which superficial critics have as superficially magnified into utter and irreconcilable opposition. Some would fain have it that the Trinitarian views of the Greek and Latin Fathers, like an acid and an alkali mixed, neutralize each other. Yet a detailed investigation lays bare the fact that the varied dogmatic formulae employed express identically the same meaning, howsoever much at times they differ in phrasing and formulation.

Unfortunately in these days of ours hypothesis has been made the supreme arbiter and interpreter of facts. Whole periods of history are condensed into a single phrase and subsumed under some simple category. In the tendency towards scientific classification of the epochs of history, men are guilty of too much compression and do not seem to advert sufficiently to the fact that this species of mental shorthand or abbreviation results in an unfair transcript of the facts considered.

[1] "Études de théologie positive sur la Sainte Trinité." Par Théodore de Régnon, S. J. 3 vols. in 8vo. Victor Retaux. Paris, 1898.

The fallacy of the universal is abroad disguised, yet undetected. Critics are constantly identifying the simplifications of mental analysis with the real forms and facts of existence, as if forsooth all further knowledge were impossible and the knowableness of a subject exhausted utterly by bottling it in a general phrase or boxing it in a category of classification. Witness the dismissal of the Greek and Latin Fathers with such generalities as the following: The Greeks were practical; the Latins prone to pure speculation. The Greeks were cosmic theists seeking their God within the universe. The Latins were anthropomorphic theists conceiving God as an extra-mundane entity of mannish type, dwelling in inaccessible majesty somewhere beyond the empyrean heaven. Or, what is more pertinent to the present issue: the idea of the Trinity among the Greeks was the result of an effort to unite three divergent streams of philosophy, to which the more concrete appellations of Father, Son and Holy Ghost were happily given. Contentions such as these used to be dealt with on the practical principle of "*solvitur ambulando.*" To-day they might more feasibly be answered by the paraphrase: "*Solvitur legendo.*" How writers of to-day can pass over the revealed elements in the Trinitarian problem, taken for granted by all the Fathers whether Latin or Greek, and confine themselves solely to the *rational* elements which the Fathers introduced to elaborate and make somewhat intelligible this transcendent truth, passes all understanding. And the result, quite naturally to be expected in such a case of culpable oversight, is to put before the Fathers an abstract problem which they never so much as entertained and which exists only in the mind of those who persist in fastening it upon them.

It must be clear, even on the slightest acquaintance with the patristic texts, that the problem before the Fathers was not: How the Trinity is a naturally suggestive rational hypothesis growing out of the need of bringing together in friendly unison three divergent currents of the old Greek philosophy. Else, why do the Fathers not mention this universal *motif?* On the contrary, it was in reality and in truth: How, granting the idea of three Persons in one God as revealed in the Sacred Pages, such a sublime conception may be elaborated in the

workshop of reason, and translated into more or less intelligible terms of human speech. They did not regard the existence of the Trinity in point of fact as demonstrable by human reason. Its existence was no postulate of philosophic inquiry, but a fact of Revelation. The fact once admitted as revealed, they proceeded to formulate theories as to its rational conception, nothing else. True it is that the dividing lines between philosophy and theology were not marked off with full precision up to the days of St. Thomas in the thirteenth century. True it is likewise that the respective fields of Reason and Revelation occasionally overlapped, as was the case with Anselm and with Richard of St. Victor. Yet, St. Thomas takes care to point out the extravagance of Richard's contention that the existence and nature of the Trinity were rationally demonstrable. Not so, he says: we simply advance arguments of convenience and analogy, explanatory to some extent of the fact which the Scriptures make known to us, but not rigorous demonstrations. In this he expressed the attitude of his ancient forbears, and placed the Trinity on the plane of superrational truths. Reason never could attain unto the knowledge of such a triune existence unaided. Much less could it have evolved such a notion out of inner consciousness as a go-between for the reconciliation of philosophic divergences. It is certainly not conducive to the maintenance of one's philosophic temper to find the contrary proclaimed by so many nowadays as the very essence of research, nay, as the last of profundity itself.

In consequence of the foregoing observations, it is easy to see that a false conception of the point at issue with the Fathers in their discussion of the Trinitarian doctrine, as well as the employment of an unscholarly method in its presentation, are responsible for the fantastic views—none the less false because fanciful and hypothetic—of rationalistic writers. Fault of method is the original sin of all such "critics" and vitiates the entire series of their adverse conclusions. Given an issue that never existed and a pliant and elastic hypothesis that may be bent to serve any purpose, verbal and not rational conclusions are turned out in abundance "as per contract or schedule." The prepossessions of the critic are read into the

texts before him and read out again with a display of erudition and of critical insight calculated to deceive even the elect. Fiction, unfortunately be it said, is stranger than truth, and, in many instances, stronger.

No field of knowledge is more open and inviting to the man with ready-made hypotheses and theories than is perhaps the field of patristic literature, and that part of it especially which concerns the explicit unfolding of the idea of the Trinity. The doctrine of the Logos at once suggests Philo. It is immediately set down as borrowed from his pages. The Fathers employ philosophy to express in rational terms the revealed dogma of three divine persons in one nature, quoting Plato and, to some extent, Aristotle in support of the definitions which they are compelled to elaborate and to apply in turn to the doctrine of the Trinity. Is not this proof evident that the idea of the Trinity is nothing else than a muddled medley of Greek philosophy? And then again: the schoolmen in the great controversy over universals constantly allude to the Trinity as the supreme and divine exemplar of Realism. They rise en masse in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries against Roscelin for having reduced the divine Oneness to a mere name and for having asserted reality only of the three individual divine Persons. They asserted, in opposition to Roscelin, that the divine nature was a reality as well as the three Persons subsisting in it—although these divine Persons were not really distinct from, but identical with this real nature. What is this but a tacit confession that the idea of the Trinity was excogitated to satisfy the needs of a crudely realistic spirit of philosophizing? And so on without number. Consequences are piled high upon distorted facts; sweeping conclusions are drawn from slender premises; a whole science of psychology relative to the ends and aims and motives of the Fathers is constructed, until verily one feels constrained to take comfort in the refreshing contrast of this age of light and reflection as set over against that early period of tiresome logomachies and unreflecting belief.

We have before us a treatise on the Greek theories concerning the Trinity. It sins by none of the defects enumerated above. It does not take into account the false methods of

studying the question of the Trinity that are so much in vogue. It plunges into the heart of its subject at once, amasses, collates, sifts and criticizes texts, without prejudging the issue by any long-distance views. A short biography is given of each Father, accompanied by a bibliography. Nothing is forced out of its environment and the conclusions, with few exceptions, are well tempered to the facts.

The divine processions and relations ; the controversy over "Agenetos" and "Agennetos ;" the meaning of the respective divine names Word, Image, Love, Gift ; the various dogmatic formulae, together with the theories excogitated by the Greeks and Latins to make somewhat conceivable this divine mystery, are well exposed from the positive theologian's standpoint. In fact, it is a detailed critical study of the entire patristic literature on this topic. There is an abundance of information concerning those consecrated theological phrases that have long since crystallized into a fixed terminology. Additional interest is given the subject by tracing out its gradual unfolding from the implicit to the explicit. Care is taken to bring out the salient fact that the orthodox view always conceived and represented the divine processions as taking place in a straight line, while the heterodox view, especially that of the heresiarch Photius, abandoned this conception for that of a triangle with one side removed. God the Father was regarded as the apex, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost as two opposite processions therefrom, which Photius was fond of presenting under the shape of an inverted Λ. Confronted by the text "*de meo accipiet*," [1] Photius seems to have faltered, but only for a while, as he soon again stiffens his false belief by amending the text so as to make it read "de meo (patre) accipiet ;" in support of which innovation he displays a veritable pageant of erudite subtleties. It was this symbolic angle of Photius that imperceptibly inclined the heterodox Greeks to certain fixed habits of judgment respecting the divine processions, which had much to do with their implacable hostility to the "Filioque," or the doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.

[1] John, XVI, 14.

Suffice it to say in fine that this work of Père Régnon is a very full presentation of the subject, and cannot fail to be a source of much positive information to students and professors alike. Brought into small compass, tersely written and orderly exposed, this treatise has but one defect—the absence of a topical index. This defect is remedied to some extent by a synoptic table of general reference at the end of each volume.

Before closing this study, however, attention should be called to a special departure of the author from a position long since regarded as fixed. It will be recalled that Suarez and Franzelin regard the divine procession of the Son as conceivable under the formal ratio of the intellect, and that of the Holy Ghost under the formal ratio of the will or love. It will be recalled that Suarez attaches theological censure to the opposite view of Durandus, and that Franzelin, though dropping the note of censure, adopts substantially the view of Suarez. Père Régnon is well aware that this received position dates back to Augustine and to the beautiful psychological theory which he advances in explanation of the divine processions. The author does not question in the least the beauty or the relevancy of the Augustinian theory, but he denies with considerable emphasis that there is sufficient patristic and scholastic unanimity in its favor to warrant its being made a necessary part, to the exclusion of all others, of the theological explanations of the Trinitarian dogma. Speaking of course only from the point of view of positive theology, he styles the demonstration of Suarez jejune, and that of Franzelin inconclusive. The most that may be claimed for the theory of Augustine, he avers, is simply that it is first among its peers. To claim for it a universal acceptance exclusive of all others, he says, is to shut one's eyes to the divergences in tradition respecting it, to tax with error the two councils of Toledo and to commit the egregious fault in method of interpreting the Fathers and the Schoolmen merely to suit requirements. Besides, St. Thomas himself admitted that this explanation of Augustine, which he himself followed, was only an analogy, to be dealt with as such. The value of the texts usually cited in favor of the Suaresian contention, concludes the author, is still very much a matter of debate from the point of view of

historical research, whatever be thought of their dogmatic significance. Many will disagree seriously with this contention of the author, especially as he seems to set too great store by the divergent views of St. Bonaventure, and seems to exact the letter, not being content with the spirit of the patristic phrases.

Père Régnon has left us in these three volumes of his a valuable contribution to positive theology. He called himself in his modesty "un coureur des bois," rambling here and there in quest of a look-out whence the perspective clears. But he was far more than this. He had the genius for detail as well developed as that of speculation. He was not a man to gaze upon his own ideas reflected into the patristic texts with scientific complaisance. He had taught the physical sciences for years and the habits of keen observation which this branch of study develops in its devotees, he carried with him in his theological investigations. In fact, there is a generous sprinkling of the current ideas of physical science in the similes which he employs to illustrate his meaning, such as "undulatory vibration," "indefinite stability," "prolongation in a straight line," and in his attempt, a few days before his death, to express in the parlance of the physicist the idea of the Holy Ghost, as "the term condensing all the divine energy and sending it back to its source, thus conserving eternally the divine supersubstantial movement." At times he betrays an insufficient acquaintance with the development of the mediæval period of theology and philosophy, as when he draws a sharp contrast between the ethical views of St. Anselm and St. Thomas, to the disparagement of the latter, assigning to St. Thomas an almost utter divorce of moral theology from ethics. This is inexact and misleading, as it was just this confusion by Anselm of the sphere of pure belief with the domain of purely natural investigation that led St. Thomas to distinguish in object, principles and method, the field of theology from that of philosophy. Distinction is not separation. The idea of St. Thomas was a great advance over Anselm's, yet Père Régnon, losing the larger historical perspective in the haphazard contrast of a few texts, would regard it as an unfruitful delimitation of a more abundant field.

While not agreeing with all the author's conclusions, we are pleased to see made public such a substantial piece of research in positive theology, bearing the earmarks of genuine scholarship, full of detail and correspondingly void of hypothesis, thus forming a refreshing contrast to the molehill of facts and the mountain of conclusions too often met with in rationalistic writers.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

LABOR BUREAUS IN THE UNITED STATES.[1]

The demand for detailed and accurate information concerning social conditions, in particular the condition of the laboring class, has become so general and has created such a multitude of agencies to supply it that we no longer wonder at the zeal and ingenuity displayed in the study of social questions. We are not surprised at seeing the professor take up his residence with the laboring man for months, in order to enter into the latter's world and see how he lives; it is not unusual for the student of social conditions to cross the ocean in steerage quarters in order to learn how the poor are treated; the scholar enters the factory as a workman for the purpose of studying its spirit. Studies, lectures, books, newspapers are all devoted to spreading information on every side. This demand for such knowledge is more than popular, something other than a passing fad. Economists, sociologists, historians, legislators and statesmen are seriously at work, seeking a knowledge of social conditions and attempting to correct and develop science, to make laws and shape State policy in the light of the facts of modern life. Without attempting to be exhaustive or critical, we may broadly classify the kinds of investigation carried on, into three groups. First, we have private study of of social conditions, conducted by individuals, associations, schools. We might mention as belonging to this class such studies as Booth's "In Darkest England," Professor Wyckoff's "The Workers," Gohre's Drei Monate Fabrikarbeiter, Levasseur's "L'Ouvrier Américain;" the list is endless. Here belong also the work of such societies as the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Society, the American Academy of Social and Political Science; the work of university stu-

[1] Authentic sources of information are: the laws creating the bureaus, all of which may be found in the second special Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1896; the Reports of the various bureaus; Reports of the conventions of the National Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics; Report of the Congrès International de legislation du Travail, held in Brussels September 27 to 30, 1897, pp. 465 and 718.

dents; in a word, all efforts of private individuals or societies to study social conditions. The value of this kind of work depends on the character of the student; his judgment, methods of research, his accuracy and ability in grouping and presenting facts. A second group of agents of investigation is had in temporary legislative committees, created by law, whose duty it is to study a given condition or problem, report on it and suggest laws. Such committees are frequently formed in our States; such was the Senate committee created in 1883, which heard and published over 4,000 pages of testimony on the relations of capital and labor; another was the commission formed to investigate the Chicago strike;[1] the present Industrial Commission now sitting and to continue during not more than two years, is another institution of this kind. Such committees or commissions do not as a rule aim at statistical accuracy. They seek opinions of representative men, aiming to reach a correct knowledge of conditions thereby, and upon such conclusions they base suggestions for legislation. The first kind of investigation is purely private, the second is official, but temporary. A third form is official and permanent, its duty being the regular methodical investigation of social conditions. This institution is called the Labor Bureau. In the United States there are thirty-three State bureaus and one Federal bureau, while nearly every foreign government has created one after the model furnished by this country. The remarkable development which the bureaus have had and the importance of their work make them an object worthy of attention. Their organization, history, work and publications, their shortcomings offer opportunity for most interesting descriptive and critical study. I confine myself in this article, however, to a simple description of their nature, number, work and difficulties, attempting no critical appreciation of their publications, organization or methods.

A labor bureau may be defined as a permanent office created by law whose general purpose is the collection and publication of information concerning social conditions. In some states it is a subdivision of the executive branch of the Government

[1] Created by executive act of the President, by virtue of the law creating the Department of Labor.

In Nebraska the governor is *ex-officio* commissioner of labor; in Colorado the Secretary of State is chief, while in Pennsylvania it is the Secretary of Internal Affairs. In Indiana the office is in the general bureau of statistics. Generally, however, the bureau of labor is a distinct department, with suitable quarters in the state-house, and the commissioner is appointed by the governor, to whom reports are made. There is considerable difference in the scope of the various bureaus. They may really be regarded as a concession to the labor forces of the country; their institution is certainly due in a measure to the agitation and demands of labor. The primary duty of every bureau, then, is to collect and publish information on the condition of labor in the broadest sense of the term. But in nearly every case the scope has been widened. In many States the law creating the bureau requires that it collect and publish information on the general condition of the industry of the State, its resources and advantages. In some cases the bureau must aim to advertise the State, encourage immigration, carry on correspondence, attempt to attract capital, secure advantageous rates on railroads for prospective settlers. Others are required to conduct investigations of the condition of agriculture, crops, soil, etc. Again, the office of factory inspector is included in the labor bureau, the commissioner of labor being inspector, or at least responsible for factory inspection. In some States the bureau is also a free employment agency, where laboring men seeking work may register and employers seeking men may apply. In Colorado the labor bureau may act as mediator in labor disputes, if invited. In many cases the law requires investigations to extend to prisons, jails and reformatories. We do not find all of these duties performed by any one bureau, but viewed in their ensemble they present the variety to which reference is made. The official titles of the bureaus give a clue to the character of the work imposed upon them by law. In all cases the bureau is a labor bureau, but many States add the word Inspection, Agriculture, Mines or Immigration, thereby indicating the nature of the investigations undertaken. Without attempting any further analysis of functions, I confine myself to citing from some laws which are thoroughly representative. The citations will convey an

exact idea of the fields of investigation of the bureaus. The Michigan law contains the following: "The duties of such bureau shall be to collect, . . . assort, systematize, print and present in annual reports to the governor . . . statistical details relating to all departments of labor in this State, including the penal institutions thereof, particularly concerning the hours of labor, the number of laborers und mechanics employed, the number of apprentices in each trade, . . . wages earned, the savings from the same, the culture, moral and mental, with age and sex of laborers employed, the number and character of accidents, the sanitary condition of institutions where labor is employed, as well as the influence of the several kinds of labor and the use of intoxicating liquors upon the health and mental condition of the laborer, . . . the proportion of married laborers and mechanics who live in rented houses, with the average annual rental of same, . . . the subjects of co-operation, strikes or other labor difficulties, trades unions and other labor organizations and their effects upon labor and capital, with such other matter relating to the commercial, industrial and sanitary condition of the laboring classes and permanent prosperity of the respective industries of the State as such bureau may be able to gather, accompanied by such recommendations relating thereto as the bureau shall deem proper." The law creating the Federal bureau in Washington contains a section according to which, the aim of that bureau shall be "to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with labor, in the most general and comprehensive sense of that word, and especially upon its relation to capital, the hours of labor, the earnings of laboring men and women and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual and moral prosperity." It is also stated that the bureau shall investigate the cost of production, comparative cost of living, articles controlled by trusts, causes of and facts relating to controversies between employer and employe which tend to interfere with the welfare of the people of the different States, etc., etc.

The labor bureau has three general characteristics; it is permanent, official and educational. The meaning of the first

is clear. Its official character implies that it is created by law, its work is directed by law, expenses are paid from public funds, reports are made to public authorities in the interests of general welfare. There is absolutely no guarantee as to the scientific value of the work, its accuracy, completeness or fairness. It depends entirely on the conscience, intelligence, energy and methods of the officials in charge, as is the case with every public office. The educational character of the bureaus follows from its duty of collecting and publishing facts. This is done in the interest of no school, theory or party, but merely that legislators, students and the public may know conditions.[1] Whether or not the institution of the bureaus was a concession to labor, they are not offices whose purpose is to teach a theory or advocate a line of reform. This is clearly indicated in the organic laws of the bureaus. Though Maine, West Virginia and Kansas laws require that the Commissioner of Labor be identified with the labor interests of the State, and the Illinois law requires that three members of its board of five be manual laborers and two, employers, the settled policy and practice of the bureaus is to hold severely to the domain of fact. This is clearly seen, not only in the work of the bureaus, but as well in the proceedings of the conventions of officials of labor bureaus whose spirit is invariably in favor of holding to the work of actual investigation of facts.

It is stated that the first demand of workingmen for the creation of labor bureaus was made at a labor congress in Cleveland in 1867,[2] and the first bureau in the world was established in Massachusetts in 1869. The eight-hour agitation of the preceding years, the spirit of unrest, dissatisfaction, the evils known to exist in the condition of working women and children, were factors which led to the institution of the bureau in 1869. Pennsylvania was the next State to create one, in 1872. Others quickly followed; Connecticut 1873, abolished in 1875, reor-

[1] See Mr. Wright's address at the third convention of officials of Bureaus of Labor, p. 25. For an expression of the contrary view, see report of the eighth convention, where it was discussed. The relation of the bureau to the study of causes of social conditions is discussed in the reports of the tenth convention, p. 95, and the eleventh, p. 89.

[2] See report of eighth convention of officials of Bureaus of Labor, p. 41. I believe that a legislative committee of Massachusetts recommended the formation of a bureau in 1865.

ganized in 1885; Kentucky 1876, Ohio 1877, New Jersey 1878, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois 1879; New York, California, Michgan, Wisconsin 1883; Iowa, Maryland 1884; Kansas. 1885; Rhode Island, Nebraska, Colorada, North Carolina, Maine, Minnesota 1887; West Virginia 1889; North Dakota 1890; Tennessee 1891; Montana, New Hampshire 1893; Washington 1897; Virginia 1898. South Dakota and Utah created bureaus, but they have been abolished. In 1879 the Massachusetts legislature petioned Congress to establish a national bureau in Washington. Bills to that effect were introduced in 1880 and 1882. In 1884, the bill was passed and the Department of Labor was created. In most States, the chief of the bureau is called the commissioner of labor. He is as a rule appointed by the Governor with the consent of the council or senate. The term of office varies from two to four years and according to American political customs, the appointment follows party lines as a rule. In North Dakota, Kentucky and Indiana the chief is elected by popular vote. In Illinois a board of five is named by the Governor, three of whom must be manual laborers and two, employers; they choose a secretary—not one of themselves—who is virtually chief. In Nebraska the Governor is chief *ex officio*, but the work of the bureau is conducted by a deputy. In Colorado and Washington the Secretary of State is chief, while in Pennsylvania it is the Secretary of Internal Affairs. The Federal Commissioner is appointed by the President for a term of four years. Hon. Carroll D. Wright has been Commissioner since 1885, when the bureau was organized.

The methods of investigation employed by the bureaus are as a rule left to the choice of the chief, except in a few States whose laws distinctly state that information shall be collected by means of circulars containing questions which are mailed to parties from whom information is sought. This method is not at all expensive, hence it commends itself readily where appropriations are limited, as is frequently the case. The circular, which varies in form and character with its purpose, generally allows for and invites the expression of opinions on social conditions. The reliable answers are selected and from them reports are compiled. Names and addresses are

always omitted, lest any clue to those furnishing information be given. In some States the law requires specified institutions or parties, such as manufacturers or building and loan associations, to report the condition of business annually to the bureau of labor. In this manner valuable service is rendered, the efficiency of the bureau greatly increased and difficulties reduced. In a number of States too, town, city, district, and State officials are required to assist the bureau of labor by supplying information to be found in their hands and even by undertaking investigations with the bureau.[1] The most effective method of investigation, however, is the personal visit of an agent, ordinarily an expert, to the place or institutions being studied. He makes a methodical examination of books, documents, and places, invites the expression of views from competent persons and from the results of such examinations reports are made.

In carrying on these investigations, the bureaus have considerable powers, accorded by their organic law. They may administer the oath, send for persons, papers, records; they may have access to any public institution, factory, etc., and compel the production of business records as far as the examination which they are making, demands. Persons are not, however, forced to leave their vicinity in order to testify, nor are they required to answer questions about affairs which are strictly private. Those who refuse to coöperate or who place obstacles in the way of investigations are guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by fine or imprisonment. In Ohio the maximum fine is $500.[2]

The publications of the bureaus are called reports. Nearly two-thirds of the States issue them annually, the others biennially. In some cases the bureau reports annually to the governor, but the report is published only biennially. A few bureaus issue bulletins, which contain material of current interest. The Federal Bureau issues Annual Reports, Special Reports and a Bulletin, which appears every two months.

[1] Report of third convention of officials of Bureaus of Labor, p. 76. See also the laws creating the bureaus.

[2] The value of this feature and the wisdom of using the sanction in case of refusal to coöperate were discussed at length in the tenth convention of officials of the Bureau of Labor. See Report, p. 83.

The Bulletin contains original essays by men of authority on subjects falling within the field of investigation of the bureau, the resumé of current reports of State bureaus, a digest of all court decisions affecting labor, the text of new labor laws and notices of government contracts. All the publications of all the bureaus are distributed gratis upon request, to any citizen, to any institution, library or society. The only restriction is that resulting from the fact that in some States appropriations are small and hence editions of reports can not be large. The law of North Carolina requires that a copy of the report of its bureau be sent to every newspaper publisher in the State, to each member of the assembly, to each State and county officer, to any citizen who requests it, and a hundred copies to each labor organization. Up to the present, over 300 volumes of reports have been issued by the bureaus in the United States. It is useless to attempt any sketch of their contents. The reader will understand from the preceding what is in general their character. The Federal bureau and a number of State bureaus would merit particular notice for the high scientific character of their work, were I to undertake a critical examination of it. But that falls outside of the scope of this article.[1]

The services rendered by the labor bureaus are valuable to history, economics, sociology, to industry, to legislatures. It would be an interesting study to trace out the abuses in social conditions which were made known by the work of the bureaus,

[1] The following is the list of publications of the Federal Bureau aside from the Bulletin:

Annual—1886, First, Industrial Depressions, pp. 496. 1886, Second, Convict Labor, pp. 612. 1887, Third, Strikes and Lockouts (January 1, 1881, to December 31, 1886), pp. 1,172. 1888, Fourth, Working Women in Large Cities, pp. 631. 1889, Fifth, Railroad Labor, pp. 888. 1890, Sixth, Cost of Production: Iron, Steel, Coal, etc., pp. 1,404; 1891, Seventh, Cost of Production: The Textiles and Glass, (2 vols.), pp. 2,048. 1892, Eighth, Industrial Education, pp. 707. 1893, Ninth, Building and Loan Associations, pp. 719. 1894, Tenth, Strikes and Lockouts (January 1, 1887, to June 30, 1894, 2 vols., pp. 1,909. 1895-96, Eleventh, Work and Wages of Men, Women and Children, pp. 671. 1897, Twelfth, Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem, pp. 275 1898, Thirteenth, Hand and Machine Labor (est.), pp. 1,400.

Special—1889, First, Marriage and Divorce, pp. 1,074. 1892, Second, Labor Laws of the United States, (second edition, revised, 1896), pp. 1,383. 1893, Third Analysis and Index of all Reports issued by Bureaus of Labor Statistics in the United States prior to November 1, 1892, pp. 376. 1893, Fourth, Compulsory Insurance in Germany, etc., pp. 370. 1893, Fifth, The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic, pp. 253. 1893, Sixth, The Phosphate Industry of the United States (with maps and illustrations), pp. 145. 1894, Seventh, The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia, pp. 620. 1895, Eighth, The Housing of the Working People (with plans and illustrations), pp. 461. 1897, Ninth, The Italians in Chicago, pp. 409.

to show their influence in labor legislation and to examine the practical services rendered by them to the industrial and social development of the States. The reports are eagerly sought by universities, public men, students, libraries, foreign scholars and governments. The good done by the bureaus has been accomplished in spite of great difficulties which are all but disheartening. It may assist the reader to appreciate the work of the bureaus justly if the obstacles which are in their way be understood.

One might say that the field of investigation should be more definitely determined and that the bureaus should not be required to exercise too many functions.[1] Too many lines of investigation are imposed on a large number of bureaus, too many duties exacted, particularly since the bureau is greatly hampered by lack of funds. There should be a reaction against this undue expansion, so that investigations might be kept in the narrower circle of problems in the condition and relations of capital and labor. In addition, the bureaus require men, money and co-operation from outside. The work is important and difficult; trained investigators are needed. Care is necessary in the choice of subjects, in the manner of investigation and of presentation. Men are needed who have the gift of quick and accurate insight into conditions; men thoroughly acquainted with the methods of statistics and their limitations. Honest men are necessary, men who are stronger than any theory they hold and who can bravely present the result of their investigations in an objective manner. The process of selection which obtains in the United States does not always insure the choice of such men as commissioners; or when chosen it does not secure them in their position. The salary is not large enough to attract men of great capability unless they are willing and able to make pecuniary sacrifices. The incumbent of the office depends upon political fortunes, hence the uncertainty of tenure of office is a deterrent. But the American is versatile. He is quick to learn when he will and he soon schools himself in the spirit, methods and work of his office. No sooner master of it than he is dismissed and his experience is lost.

[1] An instance of the way in which factory inspection hinders investigation may be found in the report of the eighth convention of officials, etc., p. 30.

Insufficient funds is a serious drawback. The appropriations are, as a rule, limited. This sometimes forces the bureaus to forego an investigation which might be expensive; it compels it to employ less perfect ways of investigation and necessarily limits the expenses that the commissioner may incur, either in travel, hiring agents or publishing reports. The bnreaus complain of a general lack of co-operation and of indifference, even opposition from sources to which inquiry must be addressed. Labor organizations have at times antagonized the bureaus, though in general they are willing helpers;[1] occasionally the individual resents the inquiry as an intrusion. Employers at times refuse to furnish information or assistance of any sort. The general public seems indifferent, when not a third or a fourth of the circulars sent out are returned.[2] The strangest kind of accusations are sometimes made. It is claimed that the purpose of the bureau is to organize strikes, to work for capitalists, to reduce wages and increase taxes, etc., etc.[3] All this has arisen from a misunderstanding of the work and nature of the bureaus and a prejudice based on pure imagination. Fortunately, both are being dissipated and there is promise of wider co-operation. Even when the law has required city, county and state officials to aid the bureaus, they have shown reluctance and have done only imperfect work.[4] The Federal bureau has been singularly free from most of these difficulties. Appropriations by Congress have been ample. The bureau has been under the direction of its eminent chief, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, since 1885. There are over a hundred persons in the office force and trained scholars do much of the work.

Though no official relations of any kind exist among the bureaus of the United States, their officers have recognized the need of coöperation and coördination in the work done. To bring this about they formed in 1883 the National Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics. It holds

[1] See report of ninth convention of officials, etc., p. 77; also eighth convention, p. 28.

[2] One commissioner stated at a convention of officials of bureaus that it is throwing stamps away to attempt to use circular letters. Report of seventh convention, p. 45.

[3] See report of tenth convention of officials, etc., p. 12, address of Mr. Wright.

[4] Third convention report, p. 76.

annual conventions whose purpose is—to quote from its rules—"the discussion of methods of work, current and otherwise, pertaining to bureaus of labor or industrial statistics and kindred departments with which its members are connected in their respective States ; also to foster the ties of friendship, interchange ideas and in various ways seek to promote the welfare of these bureaus of statistics ; to present subjects for investigation and to transact all such business as is deemed consistent with the duties of statisticians." The reports of the conventions, to which frequent reference has been made in these pages, are valuable since they contain the best expression of the views and work, methods and difficulties of all the chiefs of bureaus.

America has led the world in governmental statistical work, hence it is not strange that we should have had the first labor bureaus. Canada established one in 1882, Switzerland in 1886, New Zealand in 1892, Great Britain in 1893, though some work had been done as early as 1886; Germany in 1891, France in 1891, Belgium in 1895, though its conseil superieur du travail was established in 1892. Spain and Austria have created bureaus more recently. The character, composition, work and powers of these bureaus vary, but they are all essentially labor bureaus as we use the term. The organization and methods of American bureaus have been of much service in the creating of European bureaus and due credit is usually given this country for the service implied. As yet, no international organization of labor bureaus has been effected, but we may hope that the day is not far distant when this will be brought about. The problem has been discussed because of its close relation to the graver problem of international labor legislation. The idea of an international bureau originated in Switzerland in 1889. It was discussed at the famous Berlin conference of 1890, at which a resolution was adopted recommending that all the nations represented at the conference make regular investigations of the questions discussed, and that the governments exchange with one another, all legislative and administrative measures taken in view of accepted principles and all reports of those appointed to execute them. Nothing more was done. A social-

ist congress in Brussels in 1891 adopted a resolution favoring the appointment of national secretaries of labor in different countries. An international congress interested in custom regulations, held in Antwerp in 1892, declared in favor of a well systematized international organization of bureaus. The International Statistical Institute expressed the same sentiment at Berne in 1895, as did the congress in Zurich in 1897. The last attempt was made in the International Congress of Labor Legislation held in Brussels in September, 1897. The seventh question proposed and discussed was, "Is it desirable that international relations be established among the bureaus of labor and that there be an international organization of the statistics of labor?" The leading paper on the question was read by Professor Denis of Brussels, favoring such action. In the discussion of the paper, it was evident that though all regarded it as desirable, the obstacles presenting themselves seemed too great to permit any hope of immediate realization.[1] The regulations of the congress allowed no vote on the questions discussed, hence no recommendation was adopted.

Labor bureaus have so entered modern life that we may regard them as permanent. The line of development has been from the simple State bureau to the international. It is only necessary now to begin the work of elimination, direction and correction. Their duties must be more exactly defined and such work as does not closely bear on the condition of labor must be transferred to other agents. The errors in our system must be corrected so that efficient men be insured, the best quality of work be obtained and methods be perfected. The public must be ready and willing to coöperate in every way in order that the work be well done. At best, the work is difficult. When needless obstacles shall have been removed and the bureaus are properly organized and thoroughly equipped, we may expect great aid in our studies of social conditions. As the United States led in creating bureaus, may it lead in perfecting them. If it does, another hope may not be vain, namely, that we may be first to find the solution of the great problem that labor presents to our age and thus bring industrial peace to the world.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

[1] See Report of the Congress, pp. 465 and 718, from which these facts are drawn.

THE ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES.

"Representatives of fifty-three Catholic Colleges of the United States assembled at Chicago, Ill., April 12 and 13, 1899, for the purpose of discussing topics connected with collegiate education. Four sessions were held, a permanent organization was effected, and it was resolved that this organization be known as The Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States." [1]

It is with genuine pleasure that we cite these opening words from the volume of "Proceedings" which has just been issued and which contains a full report of the Chicago conference. A glance at these two hundred pages is sufficient to show the importance of the undertaking. Every section of the country was represented, and the various teaching bodies engaged in the education of Catholic youth took an active part in the work. While the subjects presented at this first meeting were naturally general in character, the discussions were earnest and dignified. The papers read at the conference show breadth of view and a clear understanding of the situation. On many points practical suggestions were thrown out, all the more worthy of consideration because they are the results of experience. And while the difficulties facing the Catholic College were frankly admitted, there was an evident desire and determination to advance and improve.

Educational conventions are the order of the day. Their value is fully appreciated by those who are in charge of non-Catholic institutions. Local gatherings of public school teachers, State conventions, the National Association, and various college associations, with their annual meetings or more frequent sessions, are evidences of the interest that American educators take in their work. Organized effort, not isolation, is felt to be the secret of success. Outspoken

[1] Report of the First Annual Conference of the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States: Washington, D. C., Catholic University Press. 1899. 8°. pp. 200.

criticism, given and taken in the proper spirit, is mutual encouragement and help. As education itself is essentially a development, the educational system is constantly growing and therefore constantly gaining in vitality as it is adapted to changing needs. These "relations in the environment" affect also our Catholic schools; and it is gratifying to see, in the association formed at Chicago, the *responsum vitae* which means so much. It cannot be said that Catholics, united in faith and religious practice, are heedless of unity in matters of education. It will rather be acknowledged that the same spirit of coöperation which binds our people all over the land in works of charity, devotion, social reform and material benefit, is now to render the work of our educators more effective.

Efficiency is largely dependent upon system. In any college or school, the classes and grades must be coördinated; and in the entire scheme of education all parts, from the lowest to the highest, must be so systematized as to render any breach of continuity impossible. Where teaching is a function of government, this is a comparatively simple matter—the State shapes the mould and whosoever would teach or be taught is cast accordingly. In this country, we enjoy greater freedom, and for this very reason we have greater need of bringing our volunteer forces into a compact system. Disjointed fragments, excellent as each may be in its own way, are of little value. Sporadic efforts—spurts of energy with no regard for the general and final result—are wasted. Only sincere devotion to the common weal can endow particular interests with worth and crown individual efforts with lasting success. Had the Chicago conference accomplished nothing else, it would still have been of the greatest utility by strengthening and deepening the consciousness of the purpose to which everything else in Catholic education must be subordinate.

Uniformity in certain essentials is highly desirable. It does not imply a stereotyped curriculum, nor an inviolable set of regulations, nor any exclusively approved text-book. On all such matters there is and should be a wide liberty of choice, just as there must be full opportunity for preserving, modifying or developing plans of study and discipline which have

long been tried. But the uniformity that quickens is rather in the spirit of readiness to advance and to maintain standards, not because they happen to be generally accepted, but because they are the highest. To multiply courses and enlarge announcements is often useful and sometimes necessary; to make each course thorough by the application of the best methods and to bring out the whole capacity of the student's mind, is still more essential. The time may yet come when it shall be said of every Catholic college graduate—no matter who signed his diploma—this man has been properly trained.

A serious difficulty in bringing about such uniformity lies outside the college. Entrance requirements have always to be drawn up in view of the work done by the preparatory schools; and here we come upon a variety that is not pleasing. It is safe to say that most college professors have, at one time or another, felt that their own labors would be far more fruitful if the early training of the would-be freshman were of a different sort. The duty of supplying deficiencies is neither delightful nor encouraging. Between levelling up and levelling down, the result is about as satisfactory as that which is obtained in some of our cities by grading the streets.

The immediate remedy is not far to seek. Preparatory schools will really prepare when better opportunities are afforded their teachers of becoming familiar with the work of the college. Both the primary and the secondary education are greatly improved when college graduates are entrusted with the work of preparation. These are the best alumni that the college can have; for by carefully training their scholars they lighten the labor of the collegiate course, and enable it to reach a higher degree of efficiency. But this simply emphasizes, from another point of view, the necessity of adjusting all our schools into a coöperative system. It is in the very nature of education that improvement at one stage or in one class of institutions calls for improvement in all; the forward movement must take place along the whole line. When the college asks for advance on the part of the preparatory schools, it makes no attempt to shift a responsibility; it rather accentuates the importance of those schools and its own dependence upon their results. The college professor who most clearly

understands his own responsibility, is the first to recognize the merit and dignity of those who lay the foundations.

The preparatory school has one advantage which the college does not always enjoy: it is in close contact with the regular work of the clergy—its management is a parochial duty. There is no duty more onerous, and its faithful discharge is an honor to our priests. Not the least difficult of its problems—a problem that is always recurring—is the selection of teachers. The fact that these schools are an expense voluntarily borne by our people, makes it imperative that every person whom they employ should be fully qualified. On the other hand, elementary training is only the beginning of a development which reaches maturity in collegiate study. The pastor who has at heart the best interests of his parish school, realizes that those interests are bound up with the work of the college. Whatever support he gives the college is a good investment; for its graduates, either as teachers or as business and professional men, are sooner or later the best parishioners.

The Association of Catholic Colleges is not a segregation; it implies no withdrawal from the general activity of the Church in this country. On the contrary, this first meeting serves to show more clearly the solidarity of all our Catholic interests. If the teacher is necessarily held apart from that constant intercourse with the people which the ministry involves, his function is none the less important for the growth and vigor of religion. The need of a more perfect system in Catholic education is felt primarily by the educators themselves; but in supplying it they strengthen every fibre in the organism of the Church. These "Proceedings," therefore, are not merely a "souvenir volume" intended for the teacher's desk alone; they have a meaning for every one who believes that knowledge and faith are equally essential in education.

To our Catholic people, the Chicago meeting should be an encouragement. It proves that the teachers to whom our young men are entrusted by their parents, appreciate the seriousness and the sacredness of their charge. In consulting for their mutual benefit, the colleges have also furthered the interests of their patrons. It is no longer a single institution or group of institutions that makes an appeal; Catholic collegiate education, as a whole, is put before the people. That a college

here and there should have lagged or failed, is a misfortune with an explanation; the principle, at any rate, survived. Now that the principle is embodied in an association, new confidence is inspired. Practically, a pledge has been given which should settle all doubts and misgivings. It came none too soon; but it came in time to arouse hopes and anticipations which only combined endeavor, such as the Association promises, can finally realize. Those especially among the people will look eagerly for the results of this conference and for the progress to be secured by future conferences, whose observation or personal experience has taught them that, in other educational systems, stability and success are due, in great measure, to active coöperation.

Among non-Catholic educators, not a few will be found in sympathy with the main purpose of the Association. There are fair-minded intelligent men who welcome every honest attempt at providing better schools for any portion of our population. There are well-meaning Protestants who are convinced that religion should form a part of education, and who therefore will note with care the development and application of the ideas for which the associated colleges stand. And there is a more numerous class of our fellow-citizens who will take an interest in these "Proceedings," if only to learn how Catholics understand education. In the standard pedagogical periodicals our views rarely find place. Catholic literature on the subject of education has hitherto been scattered in all sorts of publications, with some of which non-Catholic readers are unacquainted. But here we have what may be called an official document, inasmuch as it contains straightforward statements of our position and aims. These will naturally awaken the critical sense, but the critics, whatever their attitude in other respects, must recognize on the part of Catholic teachers a willingness to take counsel, to discuss, to point out defects and to apply remedies. As to criticism itself, no word of positive commendation or open disapprobation could be more incisive or admonitory than the silence of suspended judgment, which means, "let us wait and see."

What the future in education may be, is a hard question. In this country we have had experiments, theories, systems and reforms without end. That progress has been made in

some directions, no one can deny. And if, leaving details aside, we study the general movement, there can be little doubt as to the final outcome. All those tendencies, forces and circumstances which, during the past fifty years, have justified the existence of the Catholic college, will be multiplied and intensified as time goes on. It is not likely that the need of the religious element in education will be less urgent in the twentieth century than it is in the nineteenth : and if, to meet this need at present, unity and coöperation are necessary, the necessity, we may be sure, is not a passing one.

Apart from the aid which schools of different grades receive from the public funds, individual generosity grows with each year. The millions which are so freely given to college and university are proof that people of intelligence and wealth, without pressure or force, are determined to place American institutions of learning on a solid financial basis. They have seen clearly that the highest form of beneficence is that which provides the things of the mind, and they have understood in time that, in a country like ours, those who educate and those who are educated are the real rulers. May we not hope, as one important result of our College Association, that Catholics will be brought to take similar views? That their wealth, when it is given to education, should go to Catholic institutions is what we should naturally expect, since many of them are graduates of Catholic colleges. When it too begins to "drift" in other directions, the causes and remedies ought certainly be brought to light. To compete with honorable non-Catholic rivals is one thing; but it is quite another to find that their strength is derived in part from means and influences which, in the normal condition of things, would have been ours.

There is a form of economy from which no amount of wealth can excuse an educational system ; it is the economy of energy and effort. To expend these in the right way requires largeness of mind and unselfish devotion to the cause. At a time when the supply of means is in inverse ratio to the demands made upon our colleges, such economy seems particularly needful. That it is also possible is amply demonstrated by the Chicago meeting. The success of that conference, the first of its kind in the United States, is our warrant for present congratulation and for trustful reliance upon the future of the Association.

THE CHAIR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

In the last number of the BULLETIN we had the satisfaction of chronicling the foundation of a Chair of American History by an American Catholic organization. It becomes our pleasing duty to announce in the present issue an equally noble and generous act on the part of the Catholic Knights of America.

During their assembly at Kansas City, June 9 to 13, they unanimously agreed to found a Chair of English Literature in the Catholic University of America.

This is the fourth time that an American Catholic organization offers to the Catholic University a chair or permanent fund whereby some teaching of the highest order is assured forever under the auspices of the Catholic Church.

It is a unique social phenomenon in an age full of striking departures from old ways of thinking and doing,—this ardor and zeal with which large bodies of Catholic men, organized for laudable or blameless purposes, take up sympathetically the most arduous problems of Church and society, and place themselves on record as intelligent coöperators in the same. It argues that the American Catholic heart is cast in no narrow and selfish mould, that it rises easily to the noblest tasks, that it is capable of that discipline and union by which individuals can accomplish the highest social works.

Not unfrequently we hear that there is something wrong with the Catholics of America. Invidious comparisons are made, unjust assertions and aspersions are cast around loosely, the name of a young but vigorous and hopeful Church is too often defamed, and the enemies of the truth made correspondingly happy. Such acts as these foundations of University chairs, in the past by the Catholic Temperance Union and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and now by the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Knights of America, speak volumes for the purity, elevation, and disinterestedness of the Catholic sentiments, which animate their members. These acts mean that the hundreds of thousands of men who compose these organizations accept fully and unquestionably the Catholic principles concerning education, that they take seriously to heart the encour-

agement of our Holy Father to contribute to the support of the University, that they have every confidence in the wisdom and justice of the American Episcopate, that they watch intelligently and are content with the administration and the growth of the Catholic University, that they ardently hope for its constant progress. They are willing to seal these sentiments by pecuniary sacrifice. This devotion and truthfulness are all the more welcome in that they are no new growth, but have been given to the University from its very inception.

While the authorities of the University prize very highly every great individual act of generosity, they cherish in a special way the corporate acts of great societies of Catholic laymen. They feel that here they come in contact with the strong and just and kind heart of the whole people, and that they receive thus an approbation of their ordinary spirit and endeavors which it would be impossible otherwise to secure until after the lapse of much time.

In founding the Chair of English Literature the Catholic Knights of America have shown an exquisite sense of what is appropriate and useful in the present circumstances. Never was literature a power so absolute and all-embracing as to-day. It slays souls and makes them live; it pulls down orders of things and institutions, and causes a new order and new institutions to rise up; it is at once the solvent and the cement of society. For three centuries English literature was the sworn enemy of Catholicism, and one of the chief obstacles to its reconquest of the human mind. We live in a milder and more humane age, when ancient passions and prejudices have in large measure disappeared. Catholicism has much to contribute to every national literature; to the English, in particular, it can bring many an element of idealism, of genuine spiritual mysticism, of contact with the historic past and the ancient institutions once common to all the English-speaking peoples. By founding the Chair of English Literature the Catholic Knights of America have bound their name, let us hope for all time, with one of the chief duties of Catholicism, the restoration of religion to the highest plane in society, and one of the chief agencies by which that work must be done—the cultivation of the good, the true, and the beautiful in the sublime art of correct thought and faultless expression.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SCRIPTURE.

The Four Gospels, A New Translation, by the Very Rev. F. A. Spencer, O. P. New York: W. H. Young & Co.

This translation of the Gospels may be taken as one of the marks indicative of the deeper and more exact study to which the Sacred Scriptures are now being subjected within the Church. Nearly all the Catholic translations generally used have been made from the Latin Vulgate compared with the Greek. And although the Vulgate is a substantially accurate reproduction of the original Greek, yet a comparative study of the Greek manuscripts and the progress made in New Testament philology, a more critical understanding of the Semitic languages, and of the political and social history of the Jews during the time of Christ, have enabled scholars to apprehend more comprehensively and to express more accurately than did St. Jerome some of the ideas conveyed by the words of the New Testament writers. As this may be said of the translation made into Latin, so it is true also of the English translation of the Latin Version. The Douay translation was very good for the period that produced it. It has been criticised, it is true, for the unnecessarily large number of Latin derivatives, and for the clumsiness of its style, yet as a whole it is a faithful rendition of the Vulgate. But the English language has been modified, the meanings of old words have changed, many words also have become so obsolete that they are now almost unintelligible; style, too, has changed, and in consequence of this natural growth the Douay version, like the "Authorized Version," has become a representative of a period in the historical development of English literature. As such it is interesting from an historical point of sight; but the revisions to which it has been subjected from time to time indicate that a more modern version is desired. Limiting ourselves to the New Testament, it is plain that the parts of which that Book is made were written for the people, to be read by them. A large part also is composed of letters written in a colloquial style capable of being generally understood by the lowest classes of the new religious communities. The Gospels, too, have the same characteristic, the sentences are simple, the style is usually direct, and the words were the common ones in daily use. Moreover, from the earliest translations it is plain that they were made

so that the most illiterate might be able to understand the good tidings conveyed by them. And in his revision of the Vetus Itala St. Jerome also made use of the popular language, or, as it is called, the *Lingua Romana*. From these great exemplars we may infer the manner of style in which the Testament should be translated. The language of the translation should be the language made use of in the daily life of the people for whom it is made. The translation, too, must be an accurate reproduction of the original. By this we do not mean a sentence or idiom reproduction; we mean that every idea contained in the original shall be exactly contained in the translation also. To compass this modern scholarship demands that the text to be translated be either the original one, or a copy so carefully criticised that it approaches the original as near as is possible. St. Jerome, whose translations, especially of the Psalter, make him the founder of Biblical criticism, anticipated the modern demand and revised the Old Itala Version from a text which he obtained by a careful collation of the best Greek manuscripts available. In this country much has been done toward obtaining a pure New Testament text. As in the sixteenth century the edition of Etienne, although based on no ancient manuscript, was the "textus receptus," so now the best critical texts are those of Tischendorf, based on the Codex Sinaiticus, and of Westcott and Hort, founded on the Vatican manuscript. A new English translation, therefore, should have for its basis either one of those texts, and the variant readings should be collated from other ancient manuscripts and versions.

Father Spencer seems to have used as the basic text of his translation the Greek text of the sixteenth century. He has, however, so carefully collated that text with the standard English and German critical editions of the New Testament that he has produced a version embodying some of the best results of recent scholarship. This means that he has produced the best Catholic version that has appeared since the Douay translation was made. The variant readings adopted in the text as against the authority of the Vulgate are generally those of the greatest intrinsic probability and have important manuscript authority; but there are some readings which Father Spencer has rejected, which nevertheless, as found in the Vulgate and the Received Greek text, we think probably original. Thus in Matt. xi, 19, the Received text has τέκνων and the Vulgate has *filiis;* but most modern editors follow MSS. Aleph B, and have adopted ἔργων. However, the Curetonian Syriac and the mass of Greek MSS. retain τέκνων. As Scrivener says (Introd. to the Crit. of the New Test., vol. i, p. 326), this is undoubtedly the true reading. The Hellenistic use of τέκνων was probably misunderstood by the early translators and copyists, and this would account for the origin of the variant. Again, in Mark

vi, 20, the received text has πολλὰ εποίει and the Vulgate translates multa faciebat, but Codd. Aleph B. L and Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort read πολλὰ ἠπόρει, which Father Spencer adopts and renders: "he was much perplexed." This emendation seems to us to be without any mark of probability. As it stands in the context it is meaningless. St. Mark says that Herod heard John gladly and protected him, and, therefore, the reading which says that he did many things which John commanded seems to be intrinsically the most probable. Father Spencer notes this reading in the margin, and we suggest that the marginal variant be placed instead of the accepted reading. Since Father Spencer is translating from the Greek, we are at a loss to account for his rendition of Luke ii, 14: "to men in whom he is well pleased." The correct reading, moreover, seems to be ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία and not εὐδοκίας. In the margin Father Spencer notes nearly all the important variant readings; these are complete enough for the ordinary Bible reader, yet we think one or two more should be inserted; in particular the opinion held by most critics with regard to Mark xvi, 9–20, should have been indicated. The style of the translation is good. In the use of the personal pronouns more consistency might be suggested, but we realize the great difficulty to be overcome here. But the translation flows along evenly and is distinctly modern English. The arrangement of the book is in the main satisfactory and makes it convenient for reference. In new editions, however, we would suggest that the illustrations be omitted. Altogether this new translation brings us very close to the original, enables us to penetrate more deeply into the meaning of the sacred writers, to understand better the message they convey, and thus to acquire a more accurate knowledge of the life and works of the Master.

The Gospel of St. John, with Notes Critical and Explanatory, by the Rev. Joseph McRory, D. D., Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, Maynooth College. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. New York: Benziger Bros. 386 pp.

The fourth Gospel has been the subject of many commentaries, but those in English, by Catholic authors, can be numbered on the fingers of one hand. Dr. McRory makes no pretensions to an exhaustive exegesis; he had in view mainly to give to seminary students a modern commentary on St. John of a moderate compass. Considering the object, the work has been well done; the interpretation of controverted points is generally enlightened and sane, and the matter is set forth in a clear and direct manner. In the Introduction Dr. McRory is a little overconcise. The authorship of the fourth Gospel is a point about which New Testament criticism is most warmly engaged at present. The

author does not even mention the Harnackian theory, viz., that not St. John, but John the presbyter, mentioned by Papias, was the writer of the fourth Gospel, nor does he present any special argument in defense of the validity of the testimony of St. Irenæus which Harnack attacks.

The Vulgate with its English translation has been taken as the text; it would have been better if the author had presented the original Greek. Catholic students of the New Testament need to habituate themselves to the Greek text, which often has shades of meaning or emphasis not rendered by the Latin, and which are important for a full understanding of the literary sense. There is an inconsequence in taking the Vulgate as a basis and then abandoning it in the notes in order to substitute the Greek for the elucidation of a particular passage. The incongruity seems to arise from too strict an interpretation of the Tridentine decree on the use of the Vulgate.

An interesting departure from the long prevailing exegesis is the author's reconstruction of verses third and fourth of the Prologue—a change which in point of reading is a return to the primitive, but long disused one, and in point of exegesis is a distinct improvement over the various explanations of several of the primitive fathers. As commonly read, these verses run: "All things were made by Him; and without Him was made nothing that was made. In Him was the life and the life was the light of men," etc. Dr. McRory (herein agreeing with Loisy) indicates cogent reasons for reading instead: "All things were made by Him; without Him nothing was made. What was made in that was life; and the life was the light of men," etc.

Although Dr. McRory has not neglected the ideas of other commentators, both Catholic and Protestant, he would have done well to have strengthened his interpretations by regular instead of occasional reference to authorities. Intrinsic arguments are good, but one feels additional confidence in a given opinion evolved by argument when one knows that other conscientious students hold the same.

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1. **Die Advents-Perikopen:** Exegetisch-homiletisch erklärt, von Dr. Paul Wilhelm Keppler, Bischof von Rottenburg, Freiburg im Breisgau. Herder, 1899. 8°, pp. 143.

2. **Die Propheten-Catenen** nach römischen Handschriften, von Dr. M. Faulhaber. Ibid. 8°. pp 218.

1. The Bishop of Rottenburg, formerly professor in the Catholic Faculty of Theology at Tübingen, and now successor of the learned Hefele, offers us in this contribution to the "Biblische Studien" (vol. IV, No. 6) a series of exegetico-homiletical discourses on the Gospels and Epistles of Advent. Under the name of "Pericopes" (*περικοπαί*), these

selections from the New Testament have been in immemorial use, and have furnished to preachers without number the text and inspiration for Christian instruction. Bishop Keppler in the introduction deplores the abandonment of the "homily" in favor of the fôrmal or "thematic" sermon. He would have the preacher return again to the running commentary on the inspired text, which remains forever manual, exemplar, matter, and form of the best Christian teaching. Our modern Catholic preaching, he maintains, shows more than one sign of feebleness and inefficiency. Its restoration and elevation must come directly from personal labor and meditation on the text of Scripture, from toilsome mastery of its depths, acquired through prayer and self-surrender to the action of the Holy Spirit. "Nec sumptus consumitur" may well be said of that banquet of heart and mind which lies spread before us in the New Testament. Very particularly can it be said of the Sunday Gospels and Epistles: "Habet Scriptura Sacra haustus primos, habet secundos, habet tertios."

With the purpose of showing by example the value of the homiletic teaching, Dr. Keppler has selected the Advent Gospels and Epistles, set them in their true *assiette* amid the words and actions of the glorious liturgy of that season, brought to bear on every inspired phrase the best force of old and new exegetics, with exclusion of the merely scientific, and accompanied each "Gospel" and "Epistle" with "Dispositionen" or hints and directions to the ecclesiastical reader, whereby he may work over again and again the inexhaustible mine of spiritual knowledge, guidance, and comfort that lies beneath the pages of God's Holy Word. We recommend to all this book, in which will be found the well-digested erudition of a scriptural scholar, the clear, succinct, orderly exposition of one accustomed to the teaching office, and a certain direct, robust eloquence born of long and loving study, of firm grasp of the Gospel truth, and personal surrender to its transforming influences.

2. As a "Festgabe" on the occasion of the fifth centenary of the German National Hospice at Rome, known as the "Anima," founded in 1399, Dr. Faulhaber offers a critical description of the Roman manuscripts that contain what is known as "Catenæ Patrum." These "Catenæ" are series of excerpts from the scriptural commentaries of earlier ecclesiastical writers. With the disappearance of the great original theologians, investigators, and commentators of the fourth and fifth centuries there arose an encyclopædic or compilatory movement that marks a grave decline in Christian literature. Boethius, Bede, Isidore of Seville, the compiler of the Historia Tripartita, stand as representatives of this temper and tendency in philosophy, general culture, and in church history. In scriptural exegesis the compilers of patristic excerpts, or

"Catenæ," belong to the same school of epigones. If we had the original commentaries of the great Christian exegetes, we would care little for these fragments; unhappily, as Dr. Faulhaber remarks, fully one-half of the exegetical writings of the Fathers have reached us by way of these "Catenæ," and in no otherwise. They are, therefore, material of the first importance, especially when it is a question of a new edition of the Greek Fathers. Cardinal Mai published from the Vatican Archives several folio volumes of such "Catenæ." Migne republished, without critical "curæ," such texts of Mai and of other earlier editors as suited his purpose. Cardinal Pitra, in turn, gathered new fragments of Ante-Nicene commentaries from the old "Catenæ." In spite of these considerable labors, old and new, much remains to be done for the cataloguing and classification of the original sources and for the filiation of the manuscripts. So, too, the character of the various types of these collections, the manuscripts used by the original editors, and the professional treatment the latter gave to their materials, need yet much elucidation.

Dr. Faulhaber has undertaken the scientific description and analysis of those "Catenæ" on the Prophets which are known to exist at Rome. In a preliminary chapter he describes the three Roman MSS. which contain "Catenæ" to all sixteen of the Prophets. In six other chapters he treats of the "Catenæ" to the Minor Prophets, to Isaias, Jeremias, Baruch and the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the authorship of the "Catenæ" to the Greater Prophets. In each chapter the condition and history of the MSS. treated are made known, inclusive of first editions, when such have been made. A brief literary analysis of their contents follows, and the critical questions of time of origin, compilation, authorship and the like are touched on. In this interesting Iter Romanum the author reminds us of valuable unedited material like the commentary of Hesychius on the Minor Prophets. Of the "Catena" which contains it, he concludes that it was written between 450 and 550, is at least contemporary with Procopius of Gaza, hitherto looked on as the oldest of "Catena" compilers; is itself, perhaps, the first of the "Catenæ" that were compiled. In conclusion, the author maintains that most of the "Catena" MSS. examined by him at Rome, in the Vatican, Angelica, Casanatensis, Barberini, and Chigi Archives are largely the work of one man, John of Drungaria, (?) who lived in the seventh or eighth century and was the intermediary to later times of the original fifth or sixth century compilers of "Catenæ" to the prophets. Dr. Faulhaber's work is a specimen of good historical method, excellent technical training, fine critical sense, and scholarly modesty. He must henceforth receive honorable mention as often as any writer enters on what Pitra calls the "Catenarum silva periculis et probris diffamata."

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

St. John Damascene on Images. By Mary H. Allies. London Thomas Baker. 1899. 1 vol., dmo., pp. 211.

St. John Damascene was an encyclopedic genius who lived in the heart of the patristic winter when as yet the second spring—Scholasticism—had put forth no immediate signs of its coming. The last great figure of the Fathers in the East, his life-work lay, according to the spirit of the age, in the accumulation of the wisdom of his forbears, Pagan as well as Christian, and in the working over of the materials of this truly great ancient culture. He had the merit of knowing how to hammer out a precise terminology, of fixing the exact sense of words loosely employed until his time, and of putting order into the chaotic data that lay before him by means of the logic of Aristotle and Porphyry, which shines out through the entire body of his writings. Unfortunately, he is a victim of the law of scientific classification. Critics label him an encyclopedist, an idle repeater of what was said before him, and thus place him in a charmed circle into which the modern investigator is loth to enter, unconsciously disposed as he is beforehand to look upon the work of the Damascene as wrought out in a barren field.

We are glad to see this essay of the Damascene, done so creditably into the English tongue from the original Greek. The controversy on the veneration of images—in the eighth as well as in the nineteenth centuries a matter of such gross misunderstanding and almost hereditary misinformation—is summarily exposed by St. John with a clearness and a cogency that make it yet a work of actual value and interest to those especially in whose minds the ideas of Leo the Isaurian still find a lasting lodgment.

In this work St. John searches the Scriptures and discerns carefully between the worship of *latreia*, paid to God, and the veneration of *doulia*, paid to His saints and servants. The prophets, he says, worshipped angels and men and kings, even a staff. Next in order, he gathers from the Greek Fathers abundant evidence of the fact that "he who swears by an image swears by him whom it represents."

We are not, like the Israelites, prone to idolatry, and we need no Moses to warn us of a habit we are in no danger of acquiring. There is no more idolatry in a Catholic's respect for holy things nor in his veneration of the instruments of Christ's passion or of the images of the saints than there is in the soldier's devotion to his country's flag. *Verba movent, sed exempla trahunt.* Sense paints in color the colorless ideas of the intellect. Yet we are far from neglecting to take into proper account the faulty medium through which perforce we are compelled to see in order to see vividly. Intellect is a corrective. As La Fontaine says: "Quand

l'eau courbe un bâton, ma raison le redresse." Motive, too, is a purifier; and means are always means, not ends. Catholics do not make *idols* to adore, but *ideals* to look up to and to follow. They place before the eye of sense what they wish the eye of intellect to see in all its spiritual significance. *Ignoti nulla cupido.*

The translation is clear and forceful, and there is a good topical index. The sermon on the Assumption, which is appended, is a very happy concrete illustration of the doctrine which the Damascene is theoretically expounding. We recommend this little volume to priests as matter for a good instruction to their flock, while to those who persist in seeing in Catholic practice and devotion nothing short of a recrudescence of forms of worship once proper to the primeval man of the woodland we recommend a reading of this eighth-century reply to their misgivings. Faulty and incomplete though it be in the light of subsequent expositions, it nevertheless bears upon its face the stamp of controversial warmth, and will enlighten, even should it fail to bring conviction.

Thomae Edesseni Tractatus de Nativitate Domini Nostri Christi; textum Syriacum edidit, notis illustravit, Latine reddidit Simon Joseph Carr, S. T. B. A dissertation presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Romae, 1898.

This is the first dissertation presented to the Faculty of Philosophy in this University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Aside, however, from this fact, which is of merely local interest, Dr. Carr has made a real contribution to our knowledge of an important period of Syriac literature, and of a very valuable work written during that period; for this is the first time that an original document written by a Nestorian who lived in the golden age of Nestorian Syriac literature has been published. Although the Nestorian heresy had been condemned in the third general council held in Ephesus in the year 431, yet the advocates of the doctrine of Nestorius were by no means silenced. Many of the most learned men of the Persian school of Edessa were among those advocates, and through them the heresy spread over the greater part of Syria. Their activity and influence were so great that Bishop Rabulas closed their school and had the teachers expelled from Syria; but a few years later, one of their own members having been elected Bishop, they were recalled and began again to promulgate their doctrines. Among the works which they circulated were Syriac versions of the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus. In 489, however, the emperor Zeno destroyed their school and exiled the teachers. The banished teachers and pupils then established themselves in Persia. There

a new life seemed to have been infused into them. They became a thoroughly organized body, and took on the character of an independent church. The archbishop of Seleucia became the head of this church and assumed the title of "Catholicus." From the Nestorian Arabic documents it is clear that in a comparatively short time the Nestorians obtained possession of nearly all the Persian sees. As the power of the Nestorians increased, so also did their literary activity. Schools were established that soon rivaled the great school of Edessa. Theology occupied the most prominent position; but other sciences also were taught. Instruction in medicine was given, theoretically and practically. Many privileges were granted the students; and the professors had the right of voting at the Synods and in the election of Patriarchs.

From the catalogue of Ebed Jesu it may be inferred that many Nestorian Syrian writers flourished during this period of Nestorian history. But of the writers whom Ebed Jesu ascribes to the sixth century hardly any productions are now extant. Only the canons of the councils and some liturgical works have been preserved. Especially is it to be regretted that nothing as yet has been discovered of the numerous writings of the central figure of Nestorianism during this century, Mar-Abha I, who was Catholicus from 536–552. In his early years he had been a celebrated teacher both in Nisibis and Seleucia, and by his remarkable talents exercised a great influence upon all those with whom he came in contact. Among his works are mentioned a Syriac version of the Scriptures and a translation of the Liturgy of Nestorius. In matters of church discipline he was very strict. The first bishops were men of lax morals and introduced customs that would have tended to the rapid ruin of the Church. Mar-Abha reformed many of the prevailing abuses, and infused a new and vigorous spirit into the entire organization.

Although we have no work by the master, yet we have now in the text edited by Dr. Carr a work of one of his pupils. Very little is known of the life of this pupil, Thomas of Edessa. He became thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of Mar-Abha, and indeed declares that his treatise is nothing more than a written reproduction of the teachings of his master. It is said that Mar-Abha was taught the Greek language by a Thomas of Edessa, who accompanied him to Alexandria and Constantinople, where he died; but it may be inferred from the tone of the first chapter and from the testimony of Cosmos Indicopleustes that the author of the text edited by Dr. Carr was another Thomas, who outlived Mar-Abha. Besides this treatise, Thomas also wrote, according to the catalogue of Ebed Jesu, on the Epiphany, "epistolam adversus Tonos; solutionem Astrologiae; prolixas sermones Paracleticos; et disputationes adversus haereses."

The work edited by Dr. Carr is in reality an exposition of Nestorian theology. The rise and spread of Nestorianism are among the most

interesting subjects of ecclesiastical history. Nestorius, the founder of the heresy (that is, in a public manner, for the views he propounded seem to have been held privately before his time), was a monk educated in the schools of Antioch and deeply imbued with their methods and teachings. In 428 he was elected patriarch of Constantinople. He entered upon the duties of his office filled with a zeal that very soon manifested itself as unregulated by prudence. All who did not agree with him and with the tenets of the Antiochian school were mercilessly persecuted. In the church of Constantinople also he found many phrases in use that to his manner of thinking were wrong and even heretical; in an especial manner did he object to the title *Θεότικος* as applied to the Virgin Mary. For a time his views were put forward by a few of his intimate friends and disciples; at length, having been drawn into the controversy caused by them, he began publicly to preach his doctrines. According to his doctrine, there were in Christ two natures, divine and human, united in the most intimate manner. There was, however, only one dignity, *μόνα δίκη*, because the human nature was overshadowed by the divine. Hence there was only one Christ, one Son of God. Mary was the mother of the human nature of Christ; she brought forth the man; but she was not and should not be called the mother of God. A schism immediately became imminent; the church was divided, and Nestorius endeavored to silence those who opposed him by forbidding them to preach and by removing them from office. The controversy now became serious, and many openly denounced Nestorius as a heretic. In the meantime the views of Nestorius were scattered about in the East, and at last came to the notice of Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. At first Cyril endeavored to persuade the Bishop of Constantinople that his doctrines were at variance with the received dogma of the Catholic Church; but Nestorius having declined to be persuaded, the whole controversy was at last submitted to Coelestine, Bishop of Rome. Rome, of course, upheld the Catholic doctrine, and the third general council held in Ephesus made it formally an article of Catholic faith.

It is this Nestorian doctrine, then, that Thomas of Edessa expounds. The work is divided into eleven chapters, in which, in a very methodical manner, the nativity of Christ and the various subjects cognate to it are treated. The writer is evidently thoroughly convinced of the truth of his doctrine, and in consequence seems to be so desirous of explaining it and of putting it in such a way that it will be acceptable to other minds that he hardly concerns himself with the refutation of the contrary dogma. This is plain, moreover, not only from the exact manner in which ideas are expressed, but also from the way in which difficulties and objections are anticipated. For instance, after explaining the reasons for the final revelations of God having been made through a man like to

other men, and having brought out clearly the distinction between the divine and the human natures in Christ, and that it was Christ in his human nature who suffered and died for the sins of men, the writer goes on to anticipate the objection that therefore, since Christ in his human nature was a mere man, he alone was able to redeem men. The answer to the objection is given by an exposition of the Nestorian theory of the unity in dignity of Christ, and that therefore he must not be considered as a mere man. The treatise contains many allusions to subjects of an historical character and to peculiarly Nestorian customs. Of very great interest is the account given in the fifth chapter of the method made use of in the teaching of children. This is probably the earliest Syriac narrative on this subject. From it an inference may be drawn of the general state of education and culture among the Nestorian Syrians of the sixth century. This entire treatise, indeed, implies a high degree of intellectual development, not only on the part of the writer, but also on the part of the readers for whom it was written. The influences of Greek thought, language, and literature may easily be traced in most Syriac literature. It was found more convenient to express ideas of an abstract character in Greek words. In later Syriac literature even the arrangement of Greek sentences was followed; much use was made of Greek particles as connectives; but this treatise is written in the purest Syriac. Greek words are almost entirely absent. The sentences are concise and elegant. From a grammatical point of sight it will be of much use in illustrating Syriac syntax. The treatise also contains many new words, and old words are enriched with new meanings.

A valuable addition to our material for the study of the text of the Bible is contained in the Scriptural quotations scattered up and down the pages of the treatise. These will be of especial importance in the study of the Syriac Versions. A comparative study of these quotations and of the corresponding verses in the extant Versions would be of great interest and importance, for while conjectural emendations of the Biblical texts do lead to some good results, yet we are convinced that when a comparative study has been made of all the extant Versions many obscure passages in the Bible will be made clear; there will be less need for conjecture and a higher degree of certitude will be obtained. Dr. Carr must be highly commended for the manner in which he has edited the Syriac text. His work shows that he has thorough command of the language, and has the power, so necessary for an editor of an Oriental text, of entering into the mind of his author and of manifesting the spirit that permeates his work. The textual emendations are good. When it is remembered that there is no contemporary literature to be made use of as a standard for these emendations, and that the editor could only be guided by the genius of the language and the spirit of his author, very great

praise must be given him. It is to be regretted that he did not discuss some of those emendations, and also that he did not give the scriptural references to the quotations in the Syriac text. The translation is good. Dr. Carr has evidently aimed more at accuracy than at elegance of diction. He probably selected the Latin language in order to bring out better the peculiarities of the Syriac text, yet we think the English language could well have been used. The scientific reader will understand that any attempt at Elegant Latinity would affect the scope of the dissertation,—the exact reproduction of the mind of this Nestorian scholar. The Introduction is brief, but contains all the information to be had about the author of the treatise. The discussion of the theological opinions of Thomas of Edessa is deferred until the treatise on the Epiphany contained in the MS. made use of by Dr. Carr has been published. We may then expect a more lengthy examination of the relation of the author of the treatise to the Thomas who died in Constantinople.

Christus und Buddha in ihrem himmlischen Vorleben, von W. Ph. Englert. Vienna: Mayer & Co., 1898. 124 pp.

It is but a few years since the "Biblische Studien" began to be offered to the scientific world under the able direction of Professor Bardenhewer of Munich. Without exception, they proved to be valuable contributions to Catholic theological science and won universal admiration. Inspired by their success, the Leo Society of Vienna has inaugurated a series of similar studies under the title "Apologetische Studien." They are not to be limited to the field of apologetics proper, but are to be drawn from all branches of ecclesiastical science. Like the "Biblische Studien," they are to be concisely handled by scholars of recognized ability.

The honor of producing the first of these apologetic studies belongs to Dr. Englert, professor of Apologetics in the University of Bonn. Alive to the growing importance of the science of comparative religion, and recognizing the efforts now being made in Germany to cultivate an interest in Buddhism to the detriment of Christianity, Dr. Englert has set himself the task of making a critical comparison between Christ and Buddha, and of establishing the immeasurable superiority of the Saviour of mankind over the Indian reformer.

In this comparison the author does not attempt to cover the whole ground of inquiry, but limits himself to what he considers, with doubtful propriety, to be the most significant part, namely, the character of Christ's and of Buddha's heavenly existence preceding their appearance on earth as founders of religions. In addition to this, he contrasts what is recorded of Christ's birth and infancy with the legends touching the beginning of Buddha's earthly career.

As is well known, the legendary account of the founder of Buddhism offers certain striking, but imperfect, analogies with the inspired records of the life of our blessed Lord and Saviour. By the merits of his many previous existences Buddha is said to have raised himself to the dignity of a god, destined to be reborn as the perfect, enlightened man, who was to point out to his fellow-beings the true way to everlasting peace. It was while enjoying this divine existence in heaven that he chose the time and place of his appearance on earth and the parentage that was to be honored by his birth. He was miraculously conceived in his mother, Maya, who alone of women was fit to bear him on account of her transcendent virtues. Buddha's birth was likewise an object of wonder. It was while on a journey that his mother was painlessly delivered, and the event was accompanied by the most striking prodigies in heaven and on earth. Too sacred to bear other children, his mother died seven days afterward. Meanwhile the wonderful infant, already possessing the use of reason, was presented to the venerable ascetic Devala, who recognized in him the signs of the future Buddha and foretold his greatness.

These are the features of Buddha's life that Dr. Englert contrasts with what the inspired gospels tell of our blessed Saviour. He dwells on the supernatural character of the latter, and points out the purely human origin of the Buddhist legends. While not of an equally high order of merit with the "Biblische Studien," this apologetic study will be read with interest by the generality of theologians.

CHURCH HISTORY.

Saint Ambroise, par le Duc de Broglie. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1899, 8°, pp. 202.

Saint Basile, par Paul Allard. Ibid., 8°, pp. 208.

Sainte Mathilde, par L. Eugène Hallberg. Ibid., 8°, pp. 176.

Saint Henri, par l'abbé Henri Lesêtre. Ibid., 8°, pp. 213.

Saint Dominique, par Jean Guiraud. Ibid., 8°, pp. 211.

The volumes of the Lecoffre collection of "Les Saints" follow one another with exemplary rapidity. More than once we have called the attention of our readers to their specific value—succinctness of exposition and accuracy of outline, use of latest critical editions of original authorities as well as the latest researches made by their light, moderation of tone, and insistence on those points of hagiography which appeal to the modern conscience. The commodious and portable volumes are entrusted to authors of acquired fame. The names of M. Allard and the Duc de Broglie need no recommendation when it is a question of literary

ripeness and conscientious scientific work. Occasionally a serviceable introduction, like that of M. Hallberg to the Life of Sainte Mathilde, offers the reader judicious conclusions concerning the times and circumstances of the saint. In the lives of the Eastern Basil and the Western Ambrose we have vigorous men of action, fearless and aggressive, men who appreciated old and new learning, and wielded the pen with such efficacy that their words yet echo in the world. In Mecthilde and Henry we have other types of action, great rulers of Teutonic blood, who conquer themselves for Christ's sake, and quench by mortification and humility those terrible racial ardors which else had flamed forth in Berserker rages or Viking atrocities. The Mecthildes, Henrys, Cunegondes, Elizabeths, lived for the good of mankind. There is something new and forceful in the sight of these nobles of dominant feudalism who quit of their own free will the places of power to follow in the footsteps of the meek and mild Christ.

If Germany was filled in the Middle Ages with Quedlinburgs and Bambergs, it was because the men and women of the land could never forget the example of self-renouncement given to them so often by their rulers, and especially, to their honor be it said, by the exalted females whose roll-call begins at Poitiers with Radegundis, to close, be it hoped, in Paradise. They were the philosophers needed by a rude and imperfect time; they were the ethical models indispensable to nations in whose hearts and minds there smoldered yet the fires of ancient ethnicism; they were the exponents of public office as a duty, a responsibility before God, and not a chattel of the ruler. It is well to seek the roots and germs of our modern constitutions in the various sections of the old Germanic world, but there is one line of research that cannot be forgotten, and that is the initiative and transforming power of *personality*, none the less remarkable when it takes the shape of superior moral worth or sanctity. So one must forever turn over the pages of the Bollandists, as well as those of the Grimms and the Giesebrechts, if one would know how the mediæval world was made, and how so much of it lives yet and energizes in the nineteenth century, thinly veiled under the technology of a scientific jargon, like the hideous classical restorations of some fine Gothic church.

In Dominic we have another type of action, no longer of the fourth or tenth century, but of the wonderful Trecento—mediæval, Spaniard, mystic, prayerful, ardent, the Cid of Catholicism. The period is one of free popular association; the communes take consciousness of themselves on all sides; the new cities rise, freed from the ancient control of feudal bishop or noble; the old monastic orders, grown wealthy and aristocratic have lost their original hold on the popular heart; restless Arabic and

Moorish influences are at work, easily discernible to the Spaniard, on whose soil they pullulate; the remnants of Manichæism and Paulicianism awake, crossed by lines of social discontent and ancient pagan culturism in Southern France; the renaissance of Judaism, hopeful, rationalistic, worldly, and the loosening of new cosmopolitan forces by the numerous and unsuccessful crusades, are other signs by which Dominic knows that a new epoch has dawned. This son of the Guzmans, in whose blood flows a double strain, Roman and Gothic, in whose mind slumber old memories of the empire, of Arianism hated and crushed, of Græco-Arabism shunned and detested, of Moorish domination held at bay by individual proud mountaineers, taught the world something new. Francis brought back the dying apostolic spirit in the guise of the sanctity of poverty; Dominic did the same, but in the guise of the sanctity of teaching. Francis is the perfect and centennial flower of the highest mysticism, the paladin of ideal Catholicism, as foreign to all that is dubious and mixed as is the air of his own lofty Alvernia. Dominic, too, was a mystic soul, striving idealward; but he was no child of lovely Umbria, with its softly contoured hills, its sweet and delicate atmosphere, its fairy landscapes, its perfect and reposeful nature. Dominic came from a mountain land; from a family of nobles, feudal, warlike, alert; the passion, sole dominant, of Catholic unity held him fast, and nourished itself by every page of the history of Spain, from the Roman persecutions to the tyranny of Moorish masters.

What was wanted in such a world, if Catholicism was to withstand the many and seductive forces of the Orient,—Hellenism, Arabism, Manichæism, Byzantinism,—was popular instruction. What Saint Ignatius foresaw in the sixteenth century, what was equally well seen by Saint Philip Neri and Saint Charles Borromeo—the need of solid instruction in the nature and principles of Catholic Christianity—was no less clear in his time to the founder of the Order of Preachers. As to the conduct of Saint Dominic in the Albigensian crusade, it is well to remember that the Albigenses were a real menace to society, with their subversive teachings concerning the world, life, and marriage; they were the theoretical anarchists of the time. Douais and Brutails have shown the anti-social character of their teachings. Doubtless we would not repress them today as they were repressed by Simon de Montfort and Saint Dominic, but the men of the thirteenth century had penal codes of a very cruel character; indeed, it was owing to the ecclesiastical procedure that any betterments were introduced. It is not so long since a European ruler expressed to his army his conviction that in case of necessity they would, at his order, fire upon their own parents and brothers.

A Benedictine Martyr in England: Being the life and times of the venerable servant of God, Dom John Roberts, O. S. B., by Dom Bede Camm, O. S. B., B. A. London: Bliss, Sands & Co., 1897, pp. 316.

The gems of modern hagiological literature are, unhappily, all too few to let this little work go by without a tardy tribute in our pages. Whoever reads this story of the martyr, John Roberts (1575–1610), executed under James I. at Tyburn, in the flower of his age, for the crime of being a priest, will scarcely refrain from tears, so honest and artless is the style of the narrator, so steadily does he let the original materials tell their own tale in their own quaint but vigorous and emotional speech. John Roberts was a young Oxford student, converted during a year of travel on the continent, though his family seem to have been Catholics at heart like so many others in the time of Elizabeth and Shakespeare. After a short stay in the Jesuit Seminary for young Englishmen, at Valladolid, he joined the Benedictines, impelled by the conviction that the original apostles of England must again win it back to the Catholic faith. His Welsh ardor and strong personality led many English youths to join the Benedictines, the result of which was the establishment of St. Gregory's Priory, at Douai, from which the Benedictines of Downside have sprung; another result was the painful controversy between the Jesuits and the Benedictines arising from the return of the latter to the English mission, a controversy which embittered still more the Archpriest disputes, and left the saddest memories in the minds of the ecclesiastics of the seventeenth century. Many documents of it are given by Dom Camm with much charity and impartiality. The scene of Dom Roberts' death recalls the simplicity and grandeur of the martyrdom of Polycarp; the material ought to be worked up in some great romance, so near and tragic and varied are the sentiments that it arouses, so little is wanting of the elements that lend spice and charm to the pages of Ruinart.

Le Cardinal Meignan (1817–1896), par l'Abbé Henri Boissonnot, son secrétaire intime. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1899, 8°, pp. 556.

Certainly the life of the late Archbishop of Tours offers an instructive glimpse into the history of the Church of France during the nineteenth century. The reader who is aware of the currents of thought and feeling, the controversies and discussions, which have marked the ecclesiasticism of nineteenth century France will find in these pages some novel documents and viewpoints. The reader who enters upon this stormy history for the first time will make, at the outset, the acquaintance of one of the most charming and pacific as well as the most learned and active of the French episcopate. Guillaume René Meignan, born

in the Craonnais, where Maine, Anjou, and Brittany meet, successively priest, professor at the Sorbonne, vicar at Paris, bishop of Châlons, then of Arras, and finally Archbishop of Tours, was one of the most high-minded, liberal, and efficient men who have illustrated the French Church in modern times. Through the advice of Montalembert and Ozanam he spent a considerable time in study at the German universities of Munich and Berlin, where he came into close personal contact with such Catholic savants as Goerres, Haneberg, Doellinger, Phillips, von Moy, Klee, Windischmann, and others. At home his talent and amiability won for him the esteem and friendship of the influential clergy of France, such as Maret, Dupanloup, Falloux, and Gerbet. Throughout his early life he seems to have moved in the circles best qualified to lend him grace of manner and distinction, as well as taste, judgment, love of learning, and a certain fine and rare moderation of mind.

Out of personal observation and abundant documents in the shape of memoirs and correspondence, his biographer has succeeded in weaving a fascinating description of this busy episcopal life. The daily labor of the scholar, the hours of diocesan administration, the painful conflicts that cannot always be avoided with justice and dignity by men in power, the grave cares of a politico-ecclesiastical character, the constant exercise of the episcopal virtues, are here put forth with affection and frankness. The book is really absorbing. It shows to any reflective, sympathetic mind what a Procrustean bed a French see may be made, and how supremely essential to the care of souls is the liberty of the chief pastor. Though he did not escape criticism, at times tipped with acerbity, Cardinal Meignan retained to the end the confidence of the government and of the Holy See, as well as of his own clergy and people. Somewhat Fabian in his public policy, he believed that the chief remedy of the modern situation was the instruction of the clergy. Averse to their activity in politics, timid and distrustful of modern journalism, he was in this century one of the chief promoters of higher ecclesiastical studies Devoted to the progress and elevation of his diocesan clergy, he was a pillar of the movement that resulted in the present Instituts Catholiques of France, though he would have preferred a single central school, where all energies might be gathered for a common effort. Originally very sympathetic to the Republic of 1848, he lived in a dignified peace with the Second Empire as Bishop of Châlons, gaining gradually in esteem, until dark days dawned for France in 1870. Patriotic and devoted in the war and the years of reconstruction, republican at heart and on principle, he was among the foremost supporters of the policy of Cardinal Lavigerie and Leo XIII. with regard to the Third Republic,—the policy of frank adhesion and support. To the unjust and impolitic attitude of the government he opposed a policy of patience and apostolic activity within

the circle of the priestly calling. He was always confident that a learned and apostolic clergy would one day bring back France from her official irreligion. Clamorous and vindictive conduct he seems to have especially deprecated, likewise a certain militant fierceness among Catholics. *Non in commotione Dominus.* Longanimity, magnanimity, the love of all science, a public sympathy with the good ideals and endeavors of the community, a horror of the violent and the extreme,—in a word, the best historic traits of the episcopate of the "vieux régime,"—were found in him. Himself apologist by profession, he recalls the cultured and conciliatory Melito of Sardes, not the rugged and declamatory Tertullian, the cautious Cyprian and not the ardent Hippolytus. It is perhaps not strange that in an age and a land where Christianity is being publicly bled to death many should rush upon the idols and seek death in the overthrow of supreme abominations. Yet the leaders of the flock need then, more than ever, a strong grasp on the "common sense" of religion, a deep reposeful faith in the power and veracity of Jesus Christ, a sacred luminous hope in the healing transforming power of time, and the courage to yield up the baton of command neither to those who urge a final retreat nor to those who would storm Gibraltar itself.

In the world of letters Cardinal Meignan will be long and favorably known by his masterpiece in seven volumes, "L'Ancien Testament dans ses rapports avec le Nouveau et la Critique Moderne."[1]

Originally inclined to the study of philosophy, it was in Germany that the future cardinal caught from Hengstenberg the inspiration of the prophetic preparation of Christ's Kingdom. Renan, too, had brought inspiration from "Outre-Rhin," and soon filled France with the fatal sweetness of his style and the soft caressing accents of his tinsel mysticism. Meignan, already favorably known by his apologetic work, "Le monde et l'homme primitif," took up at once the defence of the Scripture against the author of "L'Histoire du Peuple d'Israel," and to his death remained the protagonist among French Catholic writers in this department.

[1] The titles of the separate volumes are as follows: I. De l'Eden à Moise, avec des considérations sur l'autorité du Pentateuque. II. De Moise à David, avec une introduction sur les types ou figures de la Bible. III. David Roi, psalmiste, prophète, avec une introduction sur la Nouvelle Critique. IV. Solomon, son règne, ses écrits. V. Les Prophètes d'Israel, Quatre siècles de lutte contre l'idolatrie. VI. Les Prophètes d'Israel et le Messie, depuis Solomon jusqu'à Daniel. VII. Les Derniers Prophètes d'Israel. All are published by Lecoffre, and together form a "library" that every priest and cultured layman might well own and read with profit and pleasure. They follow step by step the aberrations of Renan, and are praised in France for the charm of their style and diction. Moreover, they are the work of a well-formed thinker, a bishop of long and varied experience, sympathetic to all that is good and tenable in his adversary's labors, and disposed to reject no real advance in the content or the methods of philology, history, archæology, ethnology, or the natural sciences.

These volumes represent the thought and research of many years, guided by approved method and principles of study and application. They are not merely the elucubrations of a scholar; they contain the outpourings of a truly episcopal heart; they are "homilies" for the new times,—the exposition of the author's views is never quite free from this preoccupation with the spiritual interest of the reader. The Church of France, without a university for its clerics or endowments for higher study or rewards for the devoted and laborious, rejoiced to see the brilliant defense and apology set up by the young "vicaire" of Ste. Clotilde. His work, completed in seven volumes, remains yet the principal French authority on the prophecies and an excellent basis for the serious study of the history of Catholicism.

Cardinal Meignan was also the author of a clever work entitled "Un prêtre déporté," the history of a relative cruelly martyred on the foreign missions during the Revolution. We have also from his pen an admirable work on the duties of parents.[1]

The protégé and admirer of Cardinal Lavigerie, Meignan belonged to that great man's school. More than once the names of Manning and Gibbons recur in his biography with approval and sympathy. He sighed for the adoption by France of the "large and generous religious liberty of the United States." To a friend he wrote (February 3, 1893):

"You know my personal sentiments. I desire for France such a liberty as the Church has in the United States. Thus we would escape from the tutelage of the government. Still I recognize that this condition of affairs is impossible in France. It has taken a long time and peculiar circumstances to establish it in America. It would take longer to make it a reality with us. Nevertheless, with all due respect to the public power and submission to the laws, there is nothing to prevent us drawing inspiration from the great examples of the Mannings and the Gibbons, from seeking with ardor the welfare of the people, notably the workingmen and the unfortunate. The Republic has nothing to hope from a clergy become servile, and therefore contemptible."

It may not be amiss to add to the foregoing lines the translation of certain paragraphs destined to appear in a work entitled "Le Nouveau Testament dans ses rapports avec l'Ancien, et la Critique Moderne." They are a true rule of faith, and on the lips of so valiant a leader recall the spirit of Athanasius:

"I believe in a Divine Providence, in Jesus, my Master, who was wont to say, I am the Resurrection and the Life. I love Jesus, I love the Virgin Mary, divine types of sweetness and purity. * * * Without God I do not comprehend either the physical or the moral order. With

[1] Instructions et conseils sur le mariage, les enfants, la famille. Paris: Téqui, 1875.

God in the heart of both I understand them. This is the great proof of the existence of God, the one which has always compelled my adhesion, in youth, in mature manhood, and in my old age. I adore God, Creator and Governor of the world, all-powerful, all-knowing. I adore Him in three persons—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. If revelation did not make known to me the mystery of the Trinity, I would have reached it like Schilling—through the concepts of power, thought, and love. Providence follows from my idea of God. The latter is action, pure, unceasing. He is substance, but also action eternal, necessary, intelligent, free. That action is felt in creation. It is also shown forth in history by the life of the Jewish people, by the preparation and fulfillment of the Redemption, by the history of Israel and the Church. The fact of the divine mission of Jesus Christ, the Word made Flesh, come down to earth, and restoring mankind to the abandoned path of goodness, is the basis of my hopes—the faith which has upheld, guided, and enlightened me through life. The Catholic Church is the only historic, authentic, traditional form in which has been realized the society founded by Jesus Christ in order to preserve and set in motion His revelation and His religion."

PHILOSOPHY.

Critériologie Générale ou Théorie Générale de la Certitude. Par D. Mercier. Louvain. 1899. Pp. xvii + 371.

Since 1897 Monsignor Mercier has been busily engaged in preparing for the press a course of Philosophy. Volumes on Logic, Ontology, and Psychology have already been published and this is the fourth volume in the series. The publications of the distinguished head of the Institut supérieur de philosophie at Louvain have been well received in critical circles, notably his volume on "Les origines de la psychologie contemporaine," the book notices of which have been very flattering. It is safe to predict that the future volumes of this "Cours de philosophie" will prove as valuable as those already issued, and be of service to the Catholic student of today, beset as he is on all sides with a labyrinth of views and theories into the strength or weakness of which he is compelled perforce to examine.

The author of this volume has wisely chosen as its title that of Criteriology, as the old and commonly received appellation of Material or Real Logic has become very misleading since the days of Kant. It is better to adopt a new title than to employ an old one, which, though excellent in itself, has grown to be associated with Kant's empty *a priori* forms as contrasted with the content of experience, and would therefore

serve to perpetuate a usage that is open on all sides to much hostile criticism.

The first division of the author is concerned with the state of the question of the general problem of certitude, its psychological origin, the terms which it proposes to define, such as truth, certainty, evidence, and error, together with a portrayal of the faulty conceptions which usually accompany a discussion of this fundamental topic. Everything is clearly and succinctly placed before the reader, and the several states of the human mind above enumerated are critically considered, with all the more interest that the author has given his treatment a distinctively modern setting.

In the second division the discussion falls on universal doubt, real and methodical, and on exaggerated philosophical dogmatism, to the historical and doctrinal exposition of which the author has added several chapters of critical refutation. Neither the affirmation of the existence of a thinking subject nor of the natural aptitude of the human mind to know the truth constitutes, according to the author, the primitive, irrefragable basis of all certainty. To transfer the problem of epistemology from the domain of *reflexion*, where it properly belongs and where alone its myriad difficulties exist, to the domain of *spontaneity* or of instinctive belief, where certitude is had for the asking, is to torment one's self with an unsolvable enigma. Once we set over in marked contrast each against the other the respective spheres of spontaneity and reflexion, such is the abyss between the two that but one conclusion, desperate indeed, remains to be drawn. It is that this human machine of ours has been poorly put together. But why thus raise a false issue at the outset? Why create difficulties of our own making, and thus cheat ourselves in an effort to solve what by the very nature of the case is shut to all solution? The question between the real skeptics and the dogmatists is not to know if we have certain spontaneous and irresistible judgments, but to know whether we can justify our spontaneous judgments by reflexive and scientific certainty. Hence a reasonable dogmatism, a critical realism, is the proper attitude to be assumed towards the questions which epistemology raises. On the threshold of epistemology the critic should abstain from prejudging the issue, either by assuming the fitness or unfitness of our cognitive faculties for attaining unto certainty. He should maintain a *feigned* ignorance. He should for the time being assume nothing, but pick his way carefully to certainty through demonstration.

How this is accomplished, the author proceeds to show in the third division. After examining into the various theories explanatory of the real ground of certitude, he lays bare the insufficiency of Traditionalism, Transcendentalism, and Positivism, establishes the objectivity of ideas,

and finally closes with the respective definitions of truth and certainty, which formed the purpose of the treatise.

We take pleasure in recommending this entire "Cours de philosophie" to professors and students of philosophy. It will repay the most careful perusal. The author is conversant with the modern literature of his subject, and has so framed his treatment that it meets the actual needs of the hour. He makes St. Thomas and the schoolmen speak pertinently on the philosophic themes now in circulation, and to read him attentively is to master the philosophy of the school in its relevancy to modern thought. The style is clear and forcible, and all subtle controversies are judiciously excluded. To a studious mind desirous of knowing what the old philosophy has to say to the new, and anxious to obtain a good "aperçu général" of the fundamental attitude of modern philosophy, this fourth volume of the author's course is truly commendable. "Nova et vetera" is his motto: the work here reviewed is a good sample of its realization.

CANON LAW.

Urbs et Orbis, or The Pope as Bishop and as Pontiff, by William Humphrey, S. J. London, Thomas Baker. 1899. 8°, pp. 497.

The cleric can easily find in the many excellent modern manuals of canon law all needed information concerning the general administration of the Catholic Church at Rome. Such knowledge has not been easily accessible to laymen, in English, at first hand, from trustworthy writers. The book of Father Humphrey fills this want, as may be seen from the titles of the seven chapters: I, Elements in the Church of Divine Institution; II. Elements in the Church of Human Institution; III, The Senate of the Pope (Cardinals); IV, The Household of the Pope; V, The Diocese of Rome; VI, The Sacred Roman Congregations; VII, The Papal Blessing. Every clergyman knows how frequently he is besieged for direct and authoritative information on the actual management of the Church in general. Henceforth this work may safely be suggested as a competent guide. Although the chapters are indexed at length, there should be added a General Index; otherwise such works of consultation are easily made burdensome in use, and eventually fail to win their merited success. A larger bibliography should have been added, giving the full titles, and the scope at least, of the best modern works on these matters. It is owing to them that Father Humphrey has been enabled to put before the public this useful volume, and a knowledge of their existence might induce many a reader to extend his studies on the marvelous organization of Catholicism.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Between Whiles, a collection of verses by Arthur Barry O'Neill, C. S. C., Chicago; D. H. McBride & Co., 1899.

Short Catechism of Church History for the Higher Grades of Catholic Schools, by Rev. J. B. Oechtering. St. Louis, Herder, 1899.

In the Turkish Camp, and Other Stories. Mary R. Gray. St. Louis, Herder, 1899.

Bettering Ourselves, by Katherine E. Conway. Boston, Pilot Publishing Co., 1899.

The Irish Washingtons at Home and Abroad, by Thomas Hamilton Murray. Boston, Carrollton Press, 1898.

Christian Education, or The Duties of Parents. From the German of the Rev. William Becker, S. J., by a priest of the diocese of Cleveland. St. Louis, Herder, 1899, 8°, pp. 424.

Notes on a History of Auricular Confession: H. C. Lee's Account of the Power of the Keys in the Early Church, by Rev. P. H. Casey, S. J., Professor of Theology in Woodstock College. John Jos. McVey, Philadelphia, 1899, 8°, pp. 118.

Students' Standard Speller. Potter & Putnam, New York, 1890, 8°, pp. 158.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7th.

The Tenth Annual Commencement Exercises of the University were held in the Assembly Rooms or Aula Maxima of McMahon Hall, Wednesday, June 7th, at 10 A. M.

His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University, presided. There were present, besides the entire staff of the professors and instructors, many distinguished clergymen and laymen. Of the diplomatic corps we noticed the Ambassador of France, and the Ministers of Japan, Portugal, and Switzerland.

The proceedings were opened by the Right Reverend Rector, who delivered an address on "The Necessity of Religion in Collegiate Education." He prefaced his address by a reference to the prosperity of the University on the completion of its first decade. He characterized the present scholastic year as being one of great fruitfulness, both in the gifts which had been bestowed or promised, as also in the character of the work which had been done. The visit of the foundress of the University, the Marquise de Mérinville, at the opening of the year seemed to bring with it promises of successful co-operation, which have been more than realized. The popular demonstrations of interest in the University on the part of the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Knights of America in the founding of the Chair of American History by the one and of English Literature by the other were a manifestation of the deep interest which the people feel in the University. A source of great encouragement was also found in the tribute paid to the memory of a devoted priest on the part of the Catholics of Brooklyn in the establishment of a scholarship to Rev. James H. Mitchell, LL. D. Reference was made to the deaths last year of Mr. Joseph Banigan, of Providence, R. I., and Mrs. Eugene Kelley, of New York, both devoted benefactors of the University.

Then followed the conferring of degrees on the successful candidates, as follows:

Baccalaureate in Science.

Louis Grandin Carmick.
George Vincent Powers.

Baccalaureate in Law.

James Joseph Igoe, A. B. (Mt. St. Mary's), New Castle, Pa.
William Charles Loeffler, A. B. (Holy Ghost College), Pittsburg, Pa.

John Walter Lyons, Brandon, Vt.

Arthur David Maguire, B. L. (St. Mary's College, Montreal), Hamilton, Ohio.

Thomas Jeremiah O'Brien, A. B. (Rock Hill), Lynchburg, Va.

Charles Francis Reidinger, Marquette, Mich.

Louis Carbery Ritchie, Washington, D. C.

Francis Winslow Williams, Brandon, Vt.

Master of Laws.

Owen William Reddy, LL. B. (Catholic University), Attorney-at-Law, Newburyport, Mass.

George Joseph Twohy, A. B. (Rock Hill), LL. B. (Catholic University), Attorney-at-Law, Norfolk, Va.

Doctorate in Law.

Brainerd Avery, LL. B. (Columbian), LL. M. (Catholic University) Attorney-at-Law, Rutland, Vt. Dissertation: "Power of Corporations Organized under the General Law of the District of Columbia, to Acquire and Hold Lands in Other States."

Theodor Papezoglow Ion, J. C. B. and J. C. L. (Paris), Attorney-at-Law, Washington, D. C. Dissertation: "The Eastern Question."

Doctorate in Civil Law.

William Ansley Edwards, A. B. (Emory), LL. B. and LL. M. (Georgetown). Attorney-at-Law, Covington, Ga. Dissertation: "The Influence of the Roman Law on the Law of England."

Taizo Okada, Diploma in Law (Tokio University, Japan), LL. B. (Yale), Attorney-at-Law, Tokio, Japan. Dissertation: "The Theories of Individualism and Familism as Affecting the Development of Political Science and Law, with Especial Reference to the Empire of Japan."

Baccalaureate in Theology.

Rev. Peter Joseph Beutgen, Archdiocese of Portland.

Rev. Roman Butin, S. M.

John Joseph Burke, C. S. P.

Charles Dubray, S. M.

Rev. John Francis Griffin, A. B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) Diocese of Springfield, Mass.

Frances Xavier Lechner, S. M.

Rev. Timothy Patrick O'Keefe, Archdiocese of Santa Fe.

Rev. John Henry O'Neill, Diocese of Ogdensburg.

Rev. John Augustine Ryan, Archdiocese of St. Paul.

Rev. John Smyth, Archdiocese of San Francisco.

Rev. William Lawrence Sullivan, C. S. P., Ph. B.

Licentiate in Theology.

Rev. Victor Francis Ducat, A. B. and A. M. (Detroit College), S. T. B. (Catholic University) Diocese of Detroit. *Magna cum laude.* Dissertation:—"The Suspension Ex Informata Conscientia as it affects Ordained Clerics."

Rev. Stephen Charles Hallissey, A. B. (Holy Cross College), S. T. B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore), Diocese of Springfield, Mass. *Maxima cum laude.* Dissertation:—"On the Orthodoxy of Eusebius of Caesarea, Father of Church History."

Rev. Patrick Joseph Healy, S. T. B. (Catholic University), Archdiocese of New York. *Maxima cum laude.* Dissertation:—"An Inquiry into the Sources and History of the Allegorical System of Origen."

Rev. William Joseph Higgins, A. B. (Lasalle), S. T. B. (Catholic University), Archdiocese of Philadelphia. *Magna cum laude.* Dissertation:—"The Canonical Impediment of Legal Cognation."

Rev. Florence Aloysius Lane, A. B. (Manhattan College), S. T. B. (Catholic University), Diocese of Springfield, Mass. *Magna cum laude.* Dissertation:—"St. Cyprian's Concept of the Christian Hierarchy."

Rev. John William McDermott, S. T. B. (Catholic University), Diocese of Syracuse. *Maxima cum laude.* Dissertation:—"God, Knowable or Unknowable: A Comparative Study of St. Thomas and Herbert Spencer."

Rev. Edmund Augustine O'Connor, S. T. B. (Catholic University), Diocese of Albany. *Maxima cum laude.* Dissertation: "The Development of Ecclesiastical Procedure in Matrimonial Causes."

Rev. Maurice Joseph O'Connor, Ph. B. (Boston College), S. T. B. (Catholic University) Archdiocese of Boston. *Maxima cum laude.* Dissertation: "The Ethics of the Press."

Rev. Louis O'Donovan, A. M., and S. T. B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore), Archdiocese of Baltimore. *Maxima cum laude.* Dissertation: "The Christian Charity of the Fourth Century: A Comparative Study."

Rev. Philip Henry Sheridan, A. B., A. M., and S. T. B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore), Archdiocese of Baltimore. *Magna cum laude.* Dissertation: "An Historical Study of Marcion viewed especially in his relations to Luther."

Rev. John William Sullivan, A. M. and S. T. B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore), Archdiocese of San Francisco. *Maxima cum laude.* Dissertation: "The Concept of the Church as found in the Historia Ecclesiastica of Eusebius of Cæsarea.

Doctorate in Theology.

Rev. James Joseph Fox, B. A. (Royal University, Ireland), S. T. L.: (Catholic University, 1897). Dissertation: "Religion and Morality; Their Nature and Mutual Relations Historically and Doctrinally Considered," pp. 325.

In all forty-six degrees were conferred. In acknowledgment of the degrees, Mr. George V. Powers, B. S., spoke for the students of the School of Technology, Mr. Louis C. Ritchie, LL. B., for those of the School of Law, and Rev. Dr. James J. Fox for the students of the School of Theology. The exercises were brought to a close by an address from the Cardinal.

At the conclusion of the Cardinal's remarks the professors and distinguished guests repaired to Caldwell Hall, where an elaborate banquet was served.

A DOCTORATE OF THEOLOGY.

One of the most interesting events that has occurred for some years at the University was the examination of Rev. James J. Fox, S. T. L., for the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology. The examination lasted for two days, May 31 and June 1, from 9 A. M. to 12 M. It was held in the Aula Maxima of McMahon Hall, and was conducted by the Faculty of Theology, presided over by the Right Rev. Rector. The examination is a most trying ordeal for a candidate, and it was the general opinion of the auditors, as well as of the examiners, that Father Fox made a splendid defense of his theses and book against the objections of the distinguished theologians who were present.

Rev. Father Fox has been a student of the University for the past three years. Two years ago he passed with distinction his examination for the licentiate; since then he has been preparing for the severe test of the doctorate.

The first condition imposed by the University for the doctorate in theology is the composing of an original dissertation, embodying a novel treatment of some important point of ecclesiastical science. This dissertation must be presented in book form to the Faculty of Theology before the student can be admitted to the oral examination.

The dissertation of Dr. Fox was entitled "Religion and Morality: Their Nature and Mutual Relations, Historically and Doctrinally Considered." It covers the same ground as the almost similarly-named work of Rev. James Kidd, entitled "Morality and Religion." It differs, however, from this work in many important points. It goes more deeply into the nature of religion in general and the historical proofs of its existence and character among all peoples. One distinctive feature of the work consists of several preliminary chapters treating of the presence and nature of the religious feeling among all known peoples of antiquity and modern times. The book offers throughout abundant evidences of right historical method, critical feeling, acumen, and solid erudition. There is no doubt but that it will command very wide attention from all who are interested in this phase of thought.

The examinations were conducted alternately in English and Latin. Besides his book, which was licit matter for discussion with each examiner, the candidate presented seventy-five theses drawn from different departments of theological science. From these each examiner chose at hazard, and subjected the candidate to searching and severe questioning.

The proceedings were opened by a brief address from the Right Rev. Rector, Mgr. Conaty. After calling attention to the importance of the examination for the doctorate, he presented Father Fox, whose character and ability were sufficient guarantees of his right to contend for the highest degree in the gift of the University.

The examination was brought to a close by the Right Rev. Rector, who cordially thanked the visiting examiners for their kindness in coming, as many of them did, from a distance to take part in the proceedings. He congratulated Father Fox on his spirited defense, and then introduced the Apostolic Delegate, most Rev. Archbishop Martinelli. His Excellency spoke with much feeling, saying that from the record of these days' proceedings it was clear that the Catholic University was practically fulfilling the high scientific hopes entertained by its founder, Leo XIII. He referred to the dialectic skill and erudition of the defendant and to the self-sacrificing labors of his professors, whose pride and glory he was.

Those who took part in the examination were Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, dean; Very Rev. Thomas Bouquillon, D. D., Very Rev. Charles P. Grannan, D. D., Rev. Edmund T. Shanahan, D. D., Rev. John T. Creagh, of the faculty of theology of the University; Right Rev. Mgr. Sbarretti, of the Apostolic Delegation; Rev. John J. Tierney, D. D., professor of Dogmatic Theology at Mt. St. Mary's Seminary, Md.; Rev. Timothy B. Barrett, S. J., professor of Moral Theology at Woodstock, Md.; Rev. Dr. Driscoll, S. S., professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y.; Rev. A. A. Tanquery, S. S., D. D., professor of Moral Theology at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; Rev. Francis J. Sollier, S. M., D. D., professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Marist College, Washington, D. C.; Very Rev. L. J. Kearney, O. P., provincial of the Order of St. Dominic, and Rev. George J. Lucas, D. D., of Blossburg, Pa.

Among those present were Very Rev. M. P. Smith, C. S. P., Very Rev. Edward Tuohy, C. P., superior of St. Joseph's Passionist Monastery, Baltimore; Rev. William J. Doherty, S. J., and Rev. H. Shandelle, S. J., both of Georgetown College; Very Rev. L. F. M. Dumont, S. S., D. D., Rev. H. H. Chapuis, S. S., Rev. George Doherty, of St. Augustine's Church; Rev. J. P. Moran, O. P., pastor of St. Dominic's Church, and Baron Carra de Vaux, professor of Arabic at the Institut Catholique of Paris.

A number of former students of the University assisted at the examination. Among them were Rev. Francis P. Duffy, S. T. B., of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie; Rev. James D. O'Neill, S. T. L., assistant

professor of Moral Theology at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; Rev. Maurice M. Hassett, S. T. L., rector of the Cathedral, Harrisburg, Pa.; Rev. Jeremiah O'Meara, S. T. L., of Pawtucket, R. I. After the examination the students surrounded Father Fox and bore him off to their quarters amid much enthusiasm. They were profound in their expressions of joy and satisfaction that one of their number had borne himself so becomingly during the long and severe ordeal.

At the conclusion of the examination, on June 1, the Rector gave a banquet at which he entertained Archbishop Martinelli, the Faculty of Theology, the visiting examiners and the new doctor. At the end of the banquet the Dean of the Faculty, Very Rev. Dr. Shahan, at the request of the Rector, introduced Dr. Fox in a few words of praise and welcome. He called attention to the high significance of these days' proceedings, in which monastery, seminary, college and university found themselves united in rewarding long and earnest scientific labors. Referring to the teachers of Dr. Fox, he called special attention to the labor and merit of Very Rev. Dr. Bouquillon, under whose direction the new doctor had prepared his dissertation and theses.

On Commencement Day, June 7th, Rev. Father Fox, after reading the Profession of Faith in his own name and that of all the candidates for theological degrees, was formally invested by the Chancellor with the insignia of the doctorate, the mantle and hood, the ring and the cap. His Eminence then handed him the diploma of his degree, and the new doctor was assigned to his place among the doctors of theology present. In conclusion he delivered a brief discourse, in which he thanked the University and his professors for the aid and encouragement which he had constantly received from them.

ARCHBISHOP KEANE.

At the request of the Board of Directors of the University, the Holy Father has granted to Archbishop Keane a leave of absence from Rome, in order that he may devote himself to the work of completing the endowment of the University.

His vigorous enthusiasm, his high ideal of University work and life, his numerous devoted friends in every rank and calling, his winning manner and rare eloquence,—above all, his absolute unselfishness and spirit of self-sacrifice, make it sure that wherever he goes he will meet with no uncertain or hesitating response.

The University grows constantly in chairs, fellowships and scholarships. But all these moneys are pledged to specific purposes. What is needed is a large general fund for the numerous expenses outside of the endowed teaching, for the growth and care of laboratories, for necessary but unendowed teaching,—in a word, for the general management of the great "plant" which is increasing so rapidly and so solidly.

The Archbishop's work is in the nature of assistance to the Board of Directors and the administration of the University, and will be carried on in conjunction with the Rector.

May God inspire many generous hearts to coöperate with him and give of their superabundance to the completion of this highest effort of the Catholic Church along the line of education. In one year (1898) thirty-eight millions of dollars have been given to non-Catholic institutions of advanced learning. This year, by one act, a generous, high-souled lady endowed a Western university with an equal sum, thirty-eight millions. It is clear that in non-Catholic circles there is a hitherto unparalleled devotion to the cause of solid university teaching. Surely, the Catholic heart is not less generous, nor the Catholic mind less enlightened as to our needs. No moneys are so well spent as those given to education. No investments last so long, no enterprises express so permanently the will of the founder, as those of a high educational character. Here the finest, highest charity is made visible, tangible,—for the hardest bread to get is the bread of learning. In a sermon of 1530, quoted by Janssen, Luther said apropos of the Catholic education of the fifteenth century, that in those days "Every purse was open for churches and schools, and

the doors of these latter were widespread for the free reception of children who could almost be forced to receive the expensive training given within their walls."

The Catholic Church has not changed since then; in every country, when she is free, by a very necessity of her being, she aims at the highest development of the mind and the heart,—consequently at the most perfect system of education suited to the times. It is in this spirit that the University bespeaks from all friends and well-wishers a cordial and generous reception of its first rector and its beloved benefactor.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of Catholic Colleges.—The University has issued a handsome volume of 200 pages entitled "Report of the First Annual Conference of the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States, held in St. James' Hall, Chicago, April 12 and 13, 1899." This report contains the genesis of the movement, the history of its realization, the full text of the papers read and the discussions held during the two days of the Conference. Its perusal must awaken in every Catholic mind fresh zeal for superior scientific and religious education.

The Baccalaureate Sermon.—The Baccalaureate Sermon was preached this year on Sunday, June 3d, by Rev. Joseph F. Smith, S. T. L. ('97), assistant pastor of Holy Cross Church, New York City. The High Mass was sung by the Rt. Rev. Rector, assisted by Rev. William L. Sullivan, C. S. P., as deacon, and Rev. John Joseph Burke, C. S. P., as sub-deacon. At the conclusion of the Mass, the Te Deum was sung in thanksgiving for the blessings and encouragements that had fallen to the University's share during the scholastic year about to close.

Traveling Prelates from New Zealand.—During the spring several prelates from Oceania have visited the University. Most Rev. Thomas Joseph Carr, D. D., Archbishop of Melbourne, was deeply interested in the work of higher education as carried on within our walls. As a former professor of Maynooth, it was especially gratifying and inspiring to him, and the professors are very much bounden to His Grace for his kind words of approval and encouragement.

Rt. Rev. James Moore, D. D., Bishop of Ballarat, spent a few hours with us on his way to Rome. Three suffragans of our esteemed friend and well-wisher, Most Rev. Francis Mary Redwood, D. D., Archbishop of Wellington (New Zealand), were also guests for a time of the University. They were: Rt. Rev. George M. Lenihan, D. D., Bishop of Auckland; Rt. Rev. John I. Grimes, D. D.. Bishop of Christ Church; Rt. Rev. Michael Verdon, D. D., Bishop of Dunedin.

It was not without emotion that the University welcomed within its walls distinguished scholars and missionaries from so far, men of so many merits and sacrifices. Nor was it without satisfaction that we recognized in all of them men of action, practical and vigorous in their views, and in thorough sympathy with the American Church.

Reception at Philadelphia to Dr. Shanahan.—Thursday evening, June 8, the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia gave a reception to Dr. Shanahan, in recognition of his distinguished services as Lecturer on Scholastic Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania during the winter and spring of 1898–1899.

Visit of Prof. Carra de Vaux.—Baron Carra de Vaux, a distinguished professor of Arabic at the Institut Catholique, Paris, visited the University early in June, and partook of the hospitality of the Rt. Rev. Rector. The latter charged him to express the sentiments of affection and sympathy which the Catholic University of America entertains for its foreign sisters, and particularly for the Institut Catholique of Paris. This M. de Vaux promised to do, and assured us in return of the sincere good-will entertained by all his colleagues towards our enterprise.

Faculty of Theology.—The officers of the Faculty of Theology elected for the next two years are as follows: Dean, V. Rev. Dr. Charles P. Grannan; Vice-Dean, V. Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Shahan; Secretary, Rev. Dr. John T. Creagh; Member of the Senate, V. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan; Member of the Library Committee, V. Rev. Dr. Thomas Bouquillon.

Promotion of Rev. Dr. Creagh.—Rev. John T. Creagh, J. C. D., Assistant Professor of Canon Law, has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor. Dr. Creagh is a graduate of Boston College, a former student of St. John's Theological Seminary, Boston, and of the American College, Rome.

John J. Delany, Esq.—On April 21, John J. Delany, Esq., of New York City, delivered before the University a deeply interesting lecture on the Catholic Church as the Civilizer of Europe. A large and appreciative audience welcomed his appearance and applauded the excellent manner in which he treated his high theme. It was with sincere sorrow that we learned, since this event, of the very dangerous illness of Mr. Delany, and with equal pleasure that we hear of his probable recovery.

American College Alumni.—The annual reunion of the Alumni Association of the American College, Rome, was held in Philadelphia, May 17. Rev. Dr. Pace, who has held the position of Treasurer for the last two years, was elected President, and Rev. Dr. Shanahan Second Vice-President. The Association has at present a membership of two hundred, representing forty dioceses of the United States. The meeting for 1900 will be held in Rochester, N. Y.

Addition to St. Thomas' College.—In order to meet the needs of their growing community, the Paulist Fathers have been obliged, for the third time, to enlarge their building. Immediately after the departure of the

students for their summer home on Lake George, work was begun. The plans which the Superior, Father Deshon, has approved, include twenty-five additional rooms and more spacious apartments for the general community exercises. The work is proceeding rapidly and it will be finished by the end of September.

Faculty of Philosophy.—The biennial election of officers was held at the regular meeting in May, with the following result: Dean, Prof. Edward L. Greene; Vice-Dean, Prof. Maurice F. Egan; Secretary, Dr. Charles P. Neill; Deputies to the Academic Senate, Rev. Dr. John J. Griffin and Rev. Dr. Henry Hyvernat. Prof. Egan was re-elected as representative of the Faculty on the Library Committee. In accordance with a recent enactment of the Senate, the newly-elected officers assumed their respective duties at the close of the annual Commencement.

Rev. Dr. Rooker at Colgate.—The second James course of lectures before the Divinity School of Colgate University was closed on May 29 by Rev. Dr. Rooker, Lecturer in Ethics at the Catholic University. His subject was "The Ethics of Citizenship." After carefully analyzing the idea of obligation in general, his paper dealt with the formation of society and the import, for the individual, of social relations. The principles on which civil society is based were examined, and the duties of citizenship, especially under a republican form of government, were logically deduced.

Philological Association.—At the regular meeting of the Association, on May 8, Dr. Dunn read a paper on "The Romance Elements in Sanctae Silviae Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta; Dr. Bolling contributed a subsidiary article entitled "A Parallel between Greek and Sanskrit Syntax." The next meeting will take place on the second Monday in October.

Dr. Shanahan's Course at Philadelphia.—During the past year Dr. Edmund T. Shanahan delivered a course of twenty-five lectures on Mediæval Philosophy to the graduate students of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The lectures embraced fifty hours of graduate work including seminar, and were a part of the regular courses of the University. The first ten lectures dealt with the history of the sources, nature, development and culmination of the scholastic philosophy, being supplemented by a delineation of the chief thought tendencies and an extensive bibliography. The last fifteen lectures were special, detailing the mediæval views on epistemology, psychology, metaphysics, cosmology, anthropology, theodicy, ethics and æsthetics.

Ordinations at the University.—On June 9, Rt. Rev. Alfred Curtis, D.D., ordained to the Priesthood four students of St. Thomas' College, mem-

bers of the congregation of St. Paul: Rev. John M. Handly, Rev. John C. McCourt, Rev. John J. Burke and Rev. William L. Sullivan.

Bishop Curtis also ordained, on June 17, the following members of the Marist Society: Priests, Rev. H. George, Rev. C. Orphelin, Rev. C. Dubray, Rev. J. B. Jungers, Rev. X. Lechner, Rev. P. Nast, Rev. H. Pèrennés; Deacons, Rev. C. M. Chambard, Rev. E. H. Derivas, Rev. P. McOscar; Subdeacons, Messrs. J. Dreyer and A. Millet.

The ordinations, on both occasions, took place in the Divinity Chapel.

Trinity College.—On June 21, ground was broken for the erection of the principal buildings of Trinity College. The site purchased by the Sisters of Notre Dame two years ago, at the junction of Michigan and Lincoln avenues, opposite the southern boundary of the Soldiers' Home Park, is in easy and direct communication with all parts of the city by means of the electric cars.

The College building proper will be 260 feet long, while the Convent, which is at right angles with it, will be about 80 feet in length.

The Church, a handsome gothic structure, is the gift of Miss Annie Leary, of New York. Its dimensions are 135 feet by 60 feet, and it will be connected with both Convent and College buildings by means of cloisters.

The material to be employed in the erection of the buildings is granite from the quarries of Port Deposit.

Much credit is due to the ladies of the Auxiliary Board of the College under their tactful and energetic president, Miss Risley Seward. The ladies of Boston, under the direction of Miss Emma Cary, have undertaken to provide the College Library, while the ladies of New York, with Mrs. Thomas Wrenn Ward at their head, are taking an active interest in the institution. An Art School, with an excellent collection of pictures, has also been promised, and scholarships are being founded.

The

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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PRISON LABOR.*

Mabillon, a famous Benedictine monk, Abbe of Saint Germain in Paris, and one of the most learned men of the day of Louis XIV, foreshadowed many of the features of modern prison discipline and of prison labor. In his dissertations he discussed the matter of reformation in prison discipline. He was born in 1632, and died in 1707. It was during the last half of the seventeenth century that he made known his ideas and plans. It was his opinion that penitents might be secluded in cells, like those of the Carthusian monks, and there employed in various sorts of labor. To each cell might be joined a little garden, where at appointed hours the penitents might take an airing and cultivate the ground.

At a time later than that of Mabillon, Clement XI. built a juvenile prison at St. Michael, Rome, over the entrance to which there was placed this inscription: "Clement XI, Supreme Pontiff, reared this prison for the reformation and education of criminal youths, to the end that those who, when idle, had been injurious to the State might, when better instructed and trained, become useful to it." This prison was erected in 1704.

Later still, Viscount Vilain XIV., Burgomaster of Ghent, built the celebrated prison of that town, the construction of which has had its influence upon prison building in our

*A paper read before the National Prison Association of the United States, at Hartford, Conn., September 26, 1899.

time; but the architectural merits of the prison built under his plan are the least to commend it. Dr. F. H. Wines, in his valuable work, "Punishment and Reformation," gives Vilain the credit of being the father of modern penitentiary science. He made rules for the government of the prison and the organization of labor in it, and realized that in the use of prisoners in productive labor was to be found the primary agency for reformation of criminals. He appreciated the importance, Dr. Wines goes on to say, of the selection of prison industries, choosing, so far as practicable, such as would come least into competition with free labor on the outside. There was a great diversity of vocations followed in his prison, among which were carding, spinning, weaving, shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry, and the manufacture of wool and cotton cards. He had some purely penal pursuits for disciplinary purposes, and he paid great attention to the classification of prisoners. The prison was opened in the year 1775.

Howard and Beccaria, the first an Englishman and the latter an Italian, living and working in the latter part of the last century, showed the utility and necessity for labor and the education of convicts.

Thus during the last two centuries the elements underlying what may be called the philosophy or the ethics of prison labor were laid. Penologists, philanthropists, and politicians, not only in the old country but in this, long ago saw that purely penal labor had no reformatory elements in it, and that convicts must be put upon some practical, productive work in order best to secure their reformation. At the same time the State, through its representatives everywhere, felt obliged to so conduct its prison industries as to secure the best returns to the treasury, and until about a quarter of a century ago there was no serious discussion of the systems of labor other than on a treasury basis,—the profits which could be secured to the State by the economic utilization of prison labor.

The great changes which have come in methods during that period—the last twenty-five years—by which more sane considerations have been followed, and by which and under which

many of the evils in prison discipline have been brought to light, are due primarily to the agitation of the labor reformers; but like all reforms, the real elements of the question involved soon passed out of the hands of the initiators, through the recognition by the public of the crucial principles involved. The labor reformers made their attack along certain restricted lines. They alleged that the employment of convicts in productive industry interfered largely with the rates of wages and with prices, and hence prison industries were a menace to their welfare. They were never able to make out a very strong case on these lines, but great credit is due them for persisting in their agitation, and thus aiding penologists and philanthropists in calling attention to the greater question of how reformatory measures could be introduced in the conduct of prisons. Thus, the prison-labor question became something more than a mere economic one. Here and there prison labor did affect wages and prices, but in all the investigations which I have made on this subject during the last twenty years I have never found much influence in either direction growing out of the employment of prisoners. The question was there, nevertheless, and demanded attention, and it has received it.

Political platforms on this subject were as inconsistent, and even as amusing, as in other directions. Parties would insist in their platforms that the administration should keep the prisoners at work, but in such ways as to relieve outside labor of competition. Such a platform is in line with another which we have often seen, demanding of administration a reduction in taxation and a liberal expenditure for public uses.

In the first attacks the labor reformers in many places demanded that prisoners should not be employed at all. They soon saw that this would not do; that taxation for the support of prisons would cost them more than the slight losses they might meet through competition. They further saw that any work done anywhere by any man, whether in or out of prison, was in competition with the work of some other man who wished to perform the same service. They never quarreled when a large factory, of a thousand hands, for instance, was erected in a community, but when a thousand convicts were

set at work they felt that their employment was a menace to them. The reports that have been published from time to time, both by State governments and by the Federal Government, have convinced the public that the volume of labor performed in all the prisons of the country was not and could not be a menace to general industry. Nevertheless, there was enough in it, as I have said, to demand attention, and it has received the most thoughtful consideration of those men who are anxious, not only to preserve and strengthen economic conditions, but to adopt those reformatory measures which shall in the end prove of the greatest advantage to society at large.

It was natural that the employment of prisoners should assume various forms, and hence we have half a dozen systems of prison labor. These have been known, generally, as the "contract system," the "piece-price system," the "lease system," and the "public-account system." Mr. Victor H. Olmsted, one of the statistical experts of the United States Department of Labor, in making up a digest of convict labor laws in force in the United States at the present time for the use of the new Industrial Commission, has very properly classified the various systems authorized by statutes for the employment of convicts into two groups, as follows:

First. Systems under which the product or profits of the convicts' labor is shared by the State with private individuals, firms, or corporations. Under this group three distinct systems are authorized, known, respectively, as the contract system, the piece-price system, and the lease system.

Second. Systems under which convicts are worked wholly for the benefit of the State or its political subdivisions, or public institutions. Under this group he classes three systems also, authorized by statutes, known as the public-account system, the State-use system, and the public-ways-and-works system.

All these systems or methods of employing convicts have been discussed over and over again, their advantages and disadvantages considered, and their effect upon the treasury, upon the convict, and upon what is known as free labor,—in fact, all the elements concerning the employment of convicts

have received very great attention, not only from members of this Association, but from legislators, economists, and sociologists everywhere.

Looking back to the sentiments announced by the three men cited at the beginning of this address, who may be denominated the pioneers in advanced thought relative to discipline in prisons and the employment of inmates, it is found that at the present day there have been modifications which lead to conclusions entirely different from those which formed the basis of statutory provisions a quarter of a century ago. These modifications have come through experience and enlightenment. We have all changed our views more or less. Personally, I am very glad to say that while studying this question of prison labor officially for more than a score of years I have seen the changes which have caused me to enlarge my ideas in some respects, to modify them in others; contact with a system, practical observation of it or any phase of it, is instructive and broadening. You all remember how every one—especially in the North—at all interested in penology and the effects of prison labor would condemn in most unmitigated terms the lease system of the South. At the same time they praised the contract system which prevailed generally in Northern prisons. Afterwards we all began to condemn the contract system, while the labor and prison reformers in the South, in beginning to condemn their own system, demanded the application of the contract system of the North. The enlightening influence of knowledge in this respect was well illustrated during the session of this Association at Atlanta, in 1886. During that session the prison authorities of Georgia invited the members of the Prison Association to inspect a convict camp. It was my pleasure to be one of the party. Going out on the train one could hear only general condemnation of the Southern system. Coming back to the city the remark was frequently made, and by some of the most distinguished penologists of the country, that they had seen a great light; that the employment of the class of prisoners which prevailed most generally in the South must for a time

be under the odious lease system, for it furnished them with out-door work, and at the same time helped the treasury. It would have been insane on the part of the Southern authorities to have placed the negro convicts, especially, in such prison constructions as we have in the North. It was made plain to the Northern visitors that any such course would have resulted in an enormous death rate, without any substantial economic results. They found that the Southern authorities regretted the necessity of the lease system; that after the war, when the Southern States were obliged to take care of a large class of criminals that had been dealt with in different ways prior thereto, they were compelled to resort to the most primitive methods of employing them; so the lease system was really a valuable suggestion at the time. It is outgrowing its usefulness. The evils of it have proved greater than its advantages, and the Southern authorities are considering this question of prison labor along broader and more enlightened lines. I refer to this simply to show how any great question changes with the conditions accompanying it, and with the thought and study of its students.

The contract system was and is, probably, the best for the treasury, but for reformatory purposes it lacks the elements of control. The facts shown by investigation prove that, on the whole, and without regard to systems, all prisons are run at a loss to the State, and the conclusion has been forced upon the public mind that if thousands of dollars have to be paid for the support of prisons, and the return for labor is not more than from 50 to 75 per cent. of the cost, prison labor might as well be turned into reformatory measures as to be used simply for any profit it brings to the treasury. This is the greatest advance in the prison-labor question,—the ignoring of the treasury, except incidentally, and the adaptation of the work and the education of convicts to the very best results to the individual inmate. Hence the contract system had to go, and with it the piece-price system, which was only a modification of it. I need not dwell upon the evils of the contract system,—which was once thought, on the whole, the very best that could be adopted,—for we all know them.

The crude public-account system, under which goods were made in the prisons, under the control of the prison authorities, instead of under outside contractors and the superintendence of outside instructors and sold for the benefit of the treasury, seemed at one time to offer a fair solution of the difficulties; but this system proved insufficient, for it was soon found that goods made by convicts, and at the cost of the State as a manufacturer, were sold on the market without any very great regard to market prices, and thus this system left a greater impression upon outside industry than the contract system itself,—at least, this was so in theory, and it proved so in practice in many instances. Yet the public-account system had in it reformatory elements which were not found in either the lease or the contract system.

The next step in the evolution was a natural one, and one against which many objections were raised, and in carrying out which some serious obstacles seemed to exist,—this step was the application of what is properly called the "State-use system," a phase of the public-account system of employing prisoners. Under this system prisoners were to be engaged in the manufacture of things to be used by the prison itself and by other State or public institutions. It is curious to note how rapidly this idea has been adopted by State governments and by the United States Government. The English prisons gave the results of some experience in utilizing prisoners on public works, and this led to the partial adoption of the system of employing convicts in the manufacture of things which the State itself could use.

The history of the adoption of the State-use system in this country becomes interesting at this point. Broadly, this system is, as already intimated, the public-account system in all respects, except that the products of the convicts' labor manufactured from raw materials purchased by the institutions, and under the sole direction of prison officials, or produced in agriculture or other employments, are used in the penal, reformatory, or other public institutions, instead of being sold to the general public.

Twenty-eight States of the Union provide for the contract

system, six for the piece-price system, twenty-five for the lease system, forty-seven States and Territories, including the District of Columbia, for the public-account system, and twenty-four for the State-use features of the public-account system. In some of the States providing for the State-use system there is still provision for the use of the contract system, and even for other phases of the different systems; but directing our consideration now specifically to the State-use system, it is found that the first State in the Union to provide for it was Nevada, by an act of the Legislature approved February 28, 1887. Nevada did not adopt the broad State-use system as it is now conducted in some States, but it provided that State-prison convicts engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes should make all the boots and shoes required for the use of the inmates of the prison and by wards of the State and other institutions, to be paid for by such institutions. By later acts the State required the employment of its convicts in preparing stone and other materials for use in the construction of public buildings.

The next State to indulge in any legislation upon this new system was Massachusetts, by an act approved June 16, 1887, in which act it is provided that—

"The general superintendent shall, as far as may be, have manufactured in the State prison, reformatories and houses of correction such articles as are in common use in the several State and county institutions. He shall, from time to time, notify the officers of such institutions, having charge of the purchase of supplies, of such goods as he has remaining in hand, and said officers shall, as far as may be, purchase of said articles as are necessary to the maintenance of the institutions which they may represent. The articles manufactured in said prison, reformatory or house of correction shall be sold at the wholesale market price of goods of like kind and grade."

The legislation of other States providing for the application of the State-use system was secured at later periods, mostly since 1890, although some of them passed laws in 1888 and 1889. The States now providing for the State-use system, or some general feature of it, are Arkansas, California, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missis-

sippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. The United States Government, by acts passed in 1894–'95, provides that convicts in the United States penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., shall be employed exclusively in the manufacture and production of articles and supplies for the penitentiary and for the Government.

There are other States which adopt the State-use principle in the employment of convicts in quarrying and preparing stone for the building of roads and upon public works, thus recognizing the principle involved. These States are Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, New Mexico, Oregon, South Dakota, and Virginia.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this paper to discuss the experience of all the above-mentioned States that have adopted the State-use plan, even if the information for such discussion was at hand. The information is not at hand, for there has been no general investigation covering all the States, but we may learn of the value of this system by looking to the experience of Massachusetts and New York, two States which have felt the effects of the agitation of the prison-labor question as much as any other State, and more than most of them.

Under the law of Massachusetts already quoted, passed in June, 1887, that State had no experience. Her experience has been under the act of 1898, providing for the employment of prisoners in making goods for public institutions. New York's experience has been under the law of 1896, which authorizes the employment of convicts in State prisons, penitentiaries, jails, and reformatories in the production of commodities for use in any public institution in the State, such commodities to be paid for thereby. In the application of the State-use system, therefore, New York has had a longer experience than Massachusetts. The new constitution of the State of New York, which went into effect January 1, 1895, provides that on and after the first day of January, in the year 1897, no person in any prison, penitentiary, jail, or reformatory, shall

be required or allowed to work, while under sentence thereto, at any trade, industry, or occupation wherein or whereby his work, or the product or profit of his work, shall be farmed out, contracted, given, or sold to any person, firm, association, or corporation; but this section, by specific language in the constitution, is not to be construed to prevent the legislature from providing that convicts may work for, and that the products of their labor may be disposed of to, the State or any political division thereof, or for or to any public institution owned or managed and controlled by the State or any political division thereof.

The State-use system is, therefore, the system of New York, both by constitutional and statutory provision. The failure or the success of this system in these two States (New York and Massachusetts) must be taken as indicative of the failure or success in the other States that provide for it, for the obstacles and the disadvantages, as well as the advantages, of the system are on trial there more perfectly, probably, than in any other commonwealth.

The first obstacle or disadvantage to the State-use system which suggested itself to the minds not only of those who were thoroughly in favor of it, but of its opponents, related to the volume of demand by State institutions for prison-made goods. It was assumed by many, and with considerable reason, that the number of convicts available for the production of goods needed by the State would be vastly in excess of the demand therefor. The fallacy in the reasoning of the advocates of the system consisted in a lack of real conception of the relation of producers to consumers. It was loosely argued that the prisoners would consume what they made.

By the census of 1890 there was one producer of manufactured goods to fourteen of the population. This statement involves all manufactured products, whether consumed in this country or exported. Taking a single industry, that of men's clothing, it is found that there was one producer to 248 of the population. Calculations based on the actual needs of some States showed that in supplying those needs only a small proportion of the prisoners would be required. This caused ap-

prehension that many prisoners would have to be kept in idleness. Fortunately for the system, this objection, it is now thought, can be overcome, and, in fact, has been partially overcome, in two ways: New York has solved the problem, if it can be solved, so far as this particular objection is concerned, first, by providing that the product of prisons may be used in supplying all State institutions and those of any political division, thus broadening the real market for prison-made goods on the basis of the State-use plan; second, by the introduction of methods of technical and trade education, such methods to be applied whenever and wherever there are any idle prisoners competent to be instructed under the system.

Massachusetts has sought to solve this problem, following the obstacle named—that is, lack of demand—by providing in the preliminary stages of the system that if goods are manufactured beyond the demand, they may be sold in the market under certain restrictions, and by allowing the contract system to prevail for a while. The law under which the State-use system is applied in Massachusetts was passed April 14, 1898, and this law declares that it shall be the duty of the general superintendent of prisons to cause to be produced, so far as possible, in the State prison, the reformatories, the State farm, and the jails and houses of correction, articles and materials used in the several public institutions of the commonwealth and of the counties thereof. It gives the managers of the different institutions controlled by the State or the counties the right to purchase their supplies of outside producers, provided they cannot be supplied by the prisons; but it introduces a very severe check on any pretense that they cannot be supplied by the prisons by specifying that no bills for articles or materials named in the list which the general superintendent is obliged to furnish all institutions in the State or counties purchased otherwise than from a prison shall be allowed or paid unless the bill is accompanied by a certificate from the general superintendent that such goods could not be supplied upon requisition of the prisons. So, if articles or materials are not on hand in the prison storehouses and are needed for immediate use, the superintendent shall at once notify the officer

making requisition that the same cannot be filled, and then, and then only, can the articles or materials be purchased elsewhere. The particular fault of the law is that it does not provide that all institutions in any political division—those less than counties—are to be supplied in the way provided for State and county institutions. The New York law is much better in this respect.

To learn how far this question of demand and supply offers any obstacle to the success of the State-use system, we must consult the facts alone. Theories and wishes and views are of no account. The superintendent of prisons of New York states that the system is working fairly well in this respect. During the past fiscal year there was a decrease in Sing Sing shipments of over $113,500, and an increase in the shipments from Auburn and Clinton of nearly $36,000, or a net decrease for all of nearly $67,000. The causes contributing to the decrease at Sing Sing are to be found in the fact that in 1897 and 1898 large quantities of supplies were made there for the National Guard. The Attorney-General held that the guard is, under the special law governing it, exempt from the provisions of the law requiring purchases to be made of the prison; so Sing Sing is doing no work for the National Guard, that not being considered a State institution in the interpretation the Attorney-General puts upon the present law.

During the same year, 1897–'98, $50,000 worth of street brooms were shipped to the city of New York, but at present none are being shipped to the city, as the State Commissioner of Prisons assigned the street-broom industry to the King's County Penitentiary, and the brooms for New York City are now made at that institution. The result of this was that a thoroughly organized, instructive and prosperous industry, which, during the last year was worked to its full capacity, is now practically doing nothing. Another reason for the decrease in demands upon the Sing Sing industries is the recent establishment in several State hospitals and other charitable institutions of plants for the manufacture of their own supplies in the way of boots, shoes, clothing, etc. The industries at Auburn and Clinton prisons are such that

they have not been so seriously affected by the causes just enumerated, and thus each of these prisons shows a slight increase in shipments over last year.

Varying demand for supplies and difficulties in selecting industries belong to this feature of the system, but with the extension of the supplies, under the New York law, to municipal as well as to State and county institutions, these difficulties are likely to disappear. Already the demand for school furniture from Auburn has been nearly doubled, while from another institution it has increased nearly 50 per cent. The superintendent for New York reports that in some kinds of supplies the requisitions have much exceeded the capacity of such industries for production, this being true in respect to underwear, hosiery, blankets, and school and office furniture. Some other kinds of manufactures have been for a season very active in meeting the actual demands, but the requisitions diminish in some degree and at times.

Of course there is great difficulty in selecting the right kind of industries. The short experience of two years in New York, however, has demonstrated that bottom facts need to be studied and thoroughly digested in selecting and organizing an industry for permanent use in the prisons. These facts indicate that the quality and quantity of the supplies required shall be satisfactory; that the prisons should manufacture the supplies successfully at market prices; that the demand for the goods shall be permanent; that the amount of such supplies consumed shall maintain such demand for them that their production will furnish employment for a sufficient number of prisoners to insure earnings to meet the fixed charges of the industry,—the compensation of instructors, foremen, officers, and the incidental expenses,—and also afford a reasonable return to the State for the labor of the convicts; that such production, furthermore, shall not excessively compete with free labor or to its detriment. These complex demands, which necessarily enter into the choice of an industry, make the exercise of the most careful and discreet judgment of prison authorities vital in organizing, adjusting, and operating industries so that successful production shall not outrun the demand for the supplies.

Thus it is seen that the prison authorities of New York are thoroughly alive to this very question, constituting the first obstacle that has been met in establishing the State-use syste All the obstacles were suggested many years ago by Sir Edmund DuCane, one of the highest authorities in the world on prison labor.

The experience of Massachusetts has been practically that of New York, but it is in a way fairly to meet the demar When it extends the system, as already intimated, to mun- -palities, as can be done under the New York law, it is believed the obstacle now being treated will be overcome.

The second obstacle which has been raised to this system relates to the variety of goods needed by State institutions, it being feared that the labor of the prisons is not of sufficient skill to produce everything that may be needed. This was also one of DuCane's chief objections to a system which he thoroughly favored, and there is something in it. Nevertheless, with the attachment to the system of methods of technical and trade education, there is no reason why nearly all, if not all, the supplies required by public institutions cannot be produced.

The superintendent of prisons of the State of New York can show you an object-lesson. If you are in Albany it is suggested that you visit his office at the State capitol. He is finishing a room in beautifully carved panels of quartered oak. The workmanship is fine, the designs beautiful, and the room as handsome a one as can be found in any public building. The carving was all done by the prisoners at Sing Sing, worked out to a plan of matching, and then the pieces shipped to Albany, where they were put in place by workmen of that city. It is an illustration of the effect of the efforts to educate prisoners in high-grade work. Of course the superintendent would not have fitted up this beautiful room had it not been for the fact that he wished to illustrate by this object-lesson the results of the educational side of the system.

Doctor Brockway, of the Elmira Reformatory, can give you much information relative to the results of technical and trade education as carried on in the magnificent institution

under his charge. The work has been carried so far there that that prison has been denominated a great technical university. In this lies the solution, probably, of the question relating to variety of products. Time must be given the system to demonstrate its fullest utility, but only in the education of convicts can the obstacle relating to variety be fully overcome; without it, it can only be partially overcome.

The third obstacle is one of sentiment, purely and simply. Army officers in Germany have objected to their commands wearing uniforms made in prisons. Militia officers in this country have offered the same objection, yet they are glad to sleep under blankets that are made by the prisoners, and I have been informed that samples of uniforms made in prison, even for officers' wear, are superior to those usually furnished by the State through the ordinary method of contract with outside manufacturers. This obstacle will pass away in time. It is not one that will effectually block the progress of the State-use system. It has been effective in some respects, but it is believed that the objection is purely temporary in its working.

The above are the main reasons which have been offered why the State-use system should not be adopted. As already stated, at one time they had some weight, but now, in the light of practical experience, short as it has been, they have no very great weight; certainly, the advantages of the system in great measure offset the disadvantages or objections. There are no permanent disadvantages to the system; there are only temporary obstacles. The advantages are that the system makes the least possible impression upon the rates of wages and the prices of goods. To be sure, the amount of products of the prisons consumed by the State or any of its institutions reduces the products of outside establishments *pro tanto*, but there is no impression upon the vital elements of industry outside—prices and wages,—and it is conceded by all that the prisoners must be kept employed if any reformatory measures are to be adopted.

The working men, who found much fault with the contract system, are almost universally satisfied with the working of

the modern system, as are also the manufacturers, who do not have to compete with a producer not obliged to consider cost in fixing prices. If this satisfaction becomes general our legislatures will be relieved of great pressure from two avenues of approach. The paid lobbyist of the contractor will not be found in the lobbies of the legislature, nor will the committees of labor unions be found antagonizing them. The subject itself will also be eliminated from public discussion in large measure. Politics will interfere now and then, and in some States where the State-use system has been adopted it will be abolished and older methods or something more injurious be resorted to as a makeshift.

One of the most powerful reasons for the introduction of the State-use system is that under it machinery is not employed to any great extent. The use of machinery, the making of the prison a factory for the rapid production of goods, was one of the most aggravating sources of annoyance to the workingman. The use of hand machines, or the production of goods by hand, reduces this cause of attack to its minimum; at the same time it enables the prison authorities to keep the prisoners themselves almost constantly occupied in producing the goods required of them. It also has an educational benefit that must be fully considered and appreciated. If technical and trade education is to accompany or become a part of the State-use system, hand-labor methods must be utilized to the fullest extent. Of course, in the production of some goods, or in the preparation of the raw material for some of them, machinery must be used; as, for instance, in the carding of wool for hand-woven blankets and other goods. The setting up of much powerful machinery in a State prison will be avoided.

The remunerative character of the State-use system has been well exemplified in the experience of both Massachusetts and New York, and on the whole the effect upon the treasuries of these States has been as satisfactory, if not more so, than under the contract system. The testimony of Mr. Pettigrove, the General Superintendent of Prisons of Massachusetts, is to this effect. With the small working capital appropriated by the legislature, he has been able to establish the industries

called for by the law, and to conduct them in such a way as to meet some of the financial objections to the State-use system.

In addition to the testimony of the prison officials, or those immediately connected with the administration of the law relative to the State-use system in New York and Massachusetts, we have the recent testimony of several legislative committees appointed to investigate different prison systems and to make recommendations to their respective legislatures. Attention will be called to but two of these, and, first, to that of the Pennsylvania legislative committee, acting under authority of the law of May 21, 1895, and resolutions of July 26, 1897. This committee, of which Hon. Jacob Krouse, of Philadelphia, was chairman, submitted a report, adopted December 20, 1898. In this report the committee say—and the report is understood to be unanimous, and was made after the members had familiarized themselves with the systems of convict labor prevailing in Pennsylvania and other States—that from the information obtained there was one gleam of light, and that was exhibited by the State of New York. The committee might have added, had they made the report a few months later, that there was light also from other States. They stated that prior to the present law of New York that State had been a producer, manufacturer, and seller of commodities in the open market, competing with other makers of the same products, but that by the constitutional provision the State enforced a mandatory clause which would have thrown every one of her convicts into a state of idleness except for a suggestion which seemed to afford a solution of the difficulty. That suggestion, which the committee state was exactly in line with one which they had made to the legislature of their State, in a report of 1897, related to the labor of prisoners for the benefit of charitable, benevolent, and political institutions which the State controlled or supported, either in whole or in part. After examining this system, the committee concluded after a laborious investigation from all sides of the present system prevailing in the State of New York, and its applicability to Pennsylvania, that there appears to be no objection offered to it from any source. The committee had before them very many prison officials and

gathered a large amount of testimony, and they found that the unanimity with which the State institutions of Pennsylvania gave their assent to the new plan of operations was remarkable. They found that the New York prisons were enabled to employ their inmates and to teach new trades to such of them as are willing to learn; that the State-supported institutions get their wants supplied with the best quality of goods at prices satisfactory to them; that whatever economies or earnings may result are fully realized by the State and the State alone, without any injury to or complaint from the representatives of labor outside, and, further, with their acquiescence. The committee, therefore, reported a bill providing for the production in the several prisons of goods required by all State-supported institutions. This is the testimony of a most industrious committee, after long and patient investigation.

New York has also had its legislative committee investigating this subject, and last April its chairman, Hon. F. R. Peterson, made a report on the subject of prison labor. The resolution of the assembly appointing this committee instructed its members particularly to inquire into the effect of the present, or the State-use, system of convict labor upon free labor. The general conclusions of the committee were as follows:

1. That the present system has not yet succeeded in furnishing employment for all the convicts in State prisons.

2. That the financial results are as yet inadequate and unsatisfactory.

3. That the labor classes of the State are not at the present time suffering from the competition of convict labor, as the same is carried on in the prisons and penal institutions of the State.

4. That the unsatisfactory results up to the present time will be in some degree obviated by greater experience and organization.

5. That the principle of the greatest diversification of industries, coupled with a complete supply for the special market for any line of goods manufactured, will best preserve the laboring classes from convict competition in the future.

6. That the industries in the penitentiaries, and marketing of the products, should be placed under the same control as industries in the State prisons.

7. That the cell systems of the three State prisons should be rebuilt by convict labor, and also that a new wall should be constructed at Sing Sing in the same manner.

8. That the policy of prohibiting by legislative enactment the employment of convicts upon certain industries should be discountenanced, and, generally, that if the present system be carried out faithfully and intelligently, and without interference, it will demonstrate within a few years the wisdom of those who caused its adoption, and will prove a better system of convict labor than has ever before been employed in this State.

With the experience which has been outlined and the testimony of the committees referred to, there is, nevertheless, some grumbling or condemnation of the system ; but this condemnation, it seems to me, results from a lack of understanding of the system and its workings. There will be deficits here and there, a decrease in the demand for goods sometimes, and other difficulties that will have to be met by legislatures and by prison officers. One way of meeting the objection relative to the non-employment of a portion of the prisoners relates to the use of them in the reclamation of waste lands by trenching or reforestization, where such things can be carried on ; to the building of canals and roads and other public works, and to the utilization of prisoners in preparing material by hand labor for the many purposes of the State. These supplementary provisions will probably result in overcoming all the obstacles that are now raised against the State-use system.

I have purposely avoided discussing at length the merits and demerits of other systems than the State-use system, and have made no attempt whatever at being consistent with what I may have stated in the past in any place or in any official report. Nevertheless, it is gratifying to find, on consulting articles and reports which I have written, that I am not very inconsistent, after all, for in 1879 I recommended to the Massachusetts legislature the enactment of laws looking to

the production in the prisons of the State of all goods required by them or by any department of the State; that the greatest diversity of employment consistent with the capacity of the prisoners be insisted upon, and that whenever possible farms be carried on by the prison administration for the supplying of institutions; and again, in 1880, that the use of all power machinery be prohibited in prison shops and the convicts employed upon hand work, as upon hand-made boots and shoes, hand-woven goods for prison wear and other State purposes, and, further, that all idea of making prisons self-supporting be abandoned, and the convicts be taught to turn their hands to any trade requiring skill and training. Nevertheless, in the study of the subject of prison labor for more than a score of years, I have, with all other students of the same subject, been willing to abandon some notions, to modify some views, and to accept the results of practical experience.

With these comments, I may be indulged in stating a few conclusions, although the facts which lead to all of them have not been discussed in this paper. These conclusions are—

1. That it is wisest to conduct prison industries in such a way as to leave the least impression on prices and the rates of wages.

2. That for incorrigibles and recidivists that form of labor should be adopted which requires the largest expenditure of muscle in proportion to the cost of raw materials, and the least outlay of capital.

3. That there is not so much reformable material in prisons as philanthropists and others would have us believe.

4. That very many persons now sent to prison by the courts should be sent to insane asylums, or institutions for the treatment of the feeble-minded.

5. That it is the interest of labor and capital to reduce the number of prisoners rather than constantly to attack the systems of prison labor.

6. That in the conduct of prisons and the employment of prisoners the physician's point of view should be followed; that is, the cure of moral maladies in State prisons, as well as

the cure of mental and physical maladies in other institutions, should be the basis of management.

7. That in the employment of convicts the effect upon the treasury should be incidental to the best effect upon the prisoners themselves and upon the community at large.

8. That it is wise to let the system now on trial in the States that have provided for it—the State-use system—alone until it can be fully tried and determined whether it involves the very best elements of reformation, remuneration, and the constant and healthy employment of the convicts.

9. That the State should always conduct its prisons and employ its prisoners in such a way that the individual shall not be degraded.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

THE
UNITED STATES IN EUROPEAN PROPHECY.

A sense of destiny is one of the strongest psychological factors in history. The mighty ardors of Roman ambition shine out of the prophetic pages of the sixth book of Vergil. The great leaders of the Wandering Nations, Alaric, Attila, Geiserich, Odovacar, felt themselves driven or controlled by some higher external impulse. Alexander compelling the prophecy of invincibility from the oracle at Delphi, the Crusaders storming impregnable walls to the shouts of "God wills it," the calm confidence of Jenghiz Khan that he was chosen to scourge the world for its untruthfulness and impiety, Napoleon calling forty centuries to look down on his regiments from the summits of the Pyramids, are popular examples of the success that lies in a profound conviction of destiny. Great and new situations, the outcome of long and deep-working general forces; sudden and wide derangements of the circumstances of society, religion, politics; new ideas, new inventions, unexpected discovery or development of new lands, never fail to suggest the presence and action of a power over and beyond man himself. Scarcely has he recognized it as a personal will when, almost in the wake of Vergil, he goes over the records of the past to note all partial or unsuspected revelations of the same. They awaken or confirm in him a certain sure faith in his conduct, a sense of ultimate success, that diminish the size and number of obstacles, stimulate his ingenuity, and fire his heart with courage. Prophetic words and acts that reveal destiny are like the prologue of all the great dramas of history, the overture to its most solemn trilogies. Prophecy, which is often faith eloquent, not only impels men and nations, it also sustains. In Israel it tapped the deepest springs of hope, vengeance, fame, and power. It even played a rôle in the first Christian communities, once they had outlived the persuasion of an imminent judgment. Men like Melito of Sardis and Origen could ambition for the new religion

power and peace as great as those of Rome herself. The apocalyptic literature of the Jews, the Sibylline oracles, the fiery menaces of the Christian martyrs, had their part in weakening the Roman vigor, greater than the visions and prophecies of the dervishes in wresting the Soudan from European control. How sadly interesting it is to observe the tenacity of Welsh and Irish resistance to the political expansion of England, under the "rude, harsh-sounding rhymes" of Cadwallon and brave Urien, and

> "Modred, whose magic song
> Made huge Plinlimmon bow his cloud-topped head!"

The opening of the New World to European man made him search the records of history for any earlier traces of its existence. He was unable, as yet, to learn of Norse discoveries, and other possible temporary colonizations. But he knew the Irish legend of the Island of St. Brendan, around which had crystallized the memories of the Lost Atlantis, of Ogygia and Meropis and the "Seven Cities of Antilia." Vague echoes of Aristotle, Plutarch, Aelian, Strabo and others floated through his mind. Perhaps, too, the hardy, insatiate sailormen of Venice, like the brothers Zeno, had really discovered a Western "Land of Scots." In turn, the "Lost Tribes," the merchants of Tyre or Carthage, the Christian Apostles, seemed to have had knowledge of it. Though our mediæval man was unaware that the archives of the Vatican contained a letter of Innocent III. (1198–1216) that vaguely refers to it, he knew that somehow Europe had never lost the dim poetic consciousness of a distant better world which flashes out in Horace (Epod. XVI, 41):

> "Nos manet Oceanus circum vagus; arva, beata
> Petamus arva, divites et insulas
> Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis."[1]

If Columbus saw the prophecies of his discovery in Isaias (lv., 5; lx., 9),

"For the islands wait for me, and the ships of the sea in the beginning, that I may bring thy sons from afar, their silver and their gold with them,"

[1] "The boundless Ocean waits on us; let us seek its blessed plains, and the rich islands where yearly the unvexed earth gives up its harvest."

he also had read in Seneca the still more specific description of his great deed, taken from the chorus to the "Medæa" (II, 371):

"Venient annis
Saecula seris quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Delegat orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule."[1]

Petrarch in one of his Canzoni had spoken of

"the expectant eyes
Of far-off nations in a world remote."

Pulci in the Morgante Maggiore was aware that

"At our antipodes are cities, states
And throngéd empires, ne'er divined of yore,"

and Tasso may have located in the same region his garden of Armida. I pass over the glimmerings of memory or the flashes of prophecy that the old Keltic literature retains. They may best be seen in Alfred Nutt's essay on "The Irish Vision of the Happy Otherworld."[2]

Perhaps it is to these poetic musings, these visionary longings to pierce the mystery of the Western immensities, that we owe the preservation of archaic traditions concerning a transatlantic world.

However, once a pathway was opened across the ocean, and the magnitude of the voyages of Columbus fully grasped, prophecies of a more definite character were heard.[3]

[1] "There shall come a time in ages remote, when Ocean shall unloose all checks and bonds of life, and a vast continent shall appear. A pilot shall find new worlds, and Thule shall be no more Earth's bourn."

[2] The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal, to the Land of the Living. An old Irish Saga, now first edited, with translation, notes and glossary, by Kuno Meyer, with an Essay upon the Irish Vision of the Happy Otherworld and the Keltic doctrine of Rebirth: by Alfred Nutt, London. D. Nutt, 1895.

[3] For the text of many of the following quotations I am indebted to a curious monograph of Charles Sumner (Boston, 1874) entitled "Prophetic Voices Concerning America," originally published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The order and comments are my own.

In 1595 Chapman passes from the translation of Homer to celebrate in his "Guiana," the land

> "Where new Britannia humbly kneels to heaven,
> The world to her, and both at her blest feet
> In whom the circles of all empire meet."

His contemporary, Drayton, praises Virginia as "Earth's only paradise," where

> "the golden age
> Still nature's laws doth give,
> No other cares that tend
> But them to defend
> From winter's rage
> That long there doth not live."[1]

Such general estimates of the New World's future soon gave way to many specific prophecies, so comprehensive and correct that there are to-day few lines of national development, actual or prospective, that do not seem to have suggested themselves to the observing mind, at home and abroad, before the opening of this century.

That America would be one day *the rival of Europe in trade and industry* seems to have suggested itself very early. In 1705 was published a poem of Abraham Cowley, in which he maintains that the cocoa palm alone is enough to enrich the New World:

> "While she preserves this Indian palm alone,
> America can never be undone,
> Embowelled and of all her gold bereft,
> Her liberty and cocoas only left,
> She's richer than the Spaniard with his theft."

The poem was in all probability written in 1667. Sir Thomas Browne (d. 1682), kindly old philosopher, was already satisfied that the balance of trade would one day pass across the Atlantic. In reply to some prophetic verses of a friend he wrote the following lines:

> "When New England shall double New Spain,
> When Jamaica shall be lady of the isles and the Main,
> When Spain shall be in America

[1] His friend, Shakespeare, speaks of the "still-vexed Bermoothes" in the 'Tempest' only to arouse a poignant regret that our destinies did not sweep within the vision of that most solemn and accurate of political and social prophets.

And Mexico shall prove a Madrid;
When Africa shall no more sell out their blacks
To makes slaves and drudges to the American tracts,
. . . . . .
When America shall cease to send out its treasure,
But employ it at home in American pleasure;
When the New World shall the Old invade,
Nor count them their lords, but their fellows in trade,
. . . . . .
Then think strange things have come to light,
Whereof but few have had a foresight."

In 1794 Richard Brinsley Sheridan, speaking in the House of Commons, declared that America was "hourly clearing the paths of unbounded opulence," and that she had monopolized the advantages abandoned by England:

"O, turn your eyes to her; view her situation, her happiness, her content; observe her trade and her manufactures adding daily to her general credit, to her future enjoyments, and to her public resources, her name and government rising above the nations of Europe with a simple but commanding dignity, that wins at once the respect, the confidence, and the affection of the world."

Clearly the English colonies had emancipated themselves from the slavish condition which Defoe imagined for them in his "Plan of the English Commerce," in which book he says:

"What a glorious trade to England it would be to have those colonies increased with a million of people, to be clothed, furnished, and supplied with all their needful things, food excepted, only from us, and tied down forever to us by that immortal indissoluble bond of trade, their interest."

That the colonies were *capable of becoming a sea-power* one day was clearly expressed by the Southwalk brewer, Sir Josiah Childs, whom D'Israeli calls a "true philosophic predictor." In his "New Discourse of Trade" (1688) he calls attention to the fact that

"of all the American plantations his Majesty hath none so apt for the building of shipping as New England, nor none comparably so qualified for breeding of seamen, not only by reason of the natural industry of the people, but principally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries."

His contempory, Dr. Charles Davenant, cousin of "rare Sir William," commenting, in a discourse on the Plantation Trade, on these remarks of Childs, adds:

"So that if we should go to cultivate among them the art of navigation and teach them to have a naval force, they may set up for themselves and make the greater part of our West India trade precarious."

The mastery of the sea, according to a letter of John Adams, written at Worcester in 1755, when he was under twenty, could not fail to fall to America in the contingency of the conquest of Canada by England:

"Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nations in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas; and then the united forces of Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us. Divide et impera."

Early in 1780, there was published a remarkable "Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe," signed by Thomas Pownall, (1722–1808). He had been successively governor of Massachusetts Bay, New Jersey and South Carolina. Pownall was the first to call attention to the magnificent waterways of the great lakes and the Mississippi:

"The lakes appear to be the avenue, the centre of a dominion, whose influence by an infinite number of rivers, creeks, and streams, extends itself through all and every part of the continent, supported by the communication of and alliance with the waters of the Mississippi."

In the "Memorial" he tells the kings and potentates of Europe:

"North America is become a new primary planet in the system of the world, which, while it takes its own course, must have effect on the orbit of every other planet, and shift the common centre of gravity of the whole system of the European world. North America is *de facto* an independent power, which has taken its equal status with other powers, and must be so *de jure*. . . . The independence of America is fixed as fate. She is mistress of her own future, knows that she is so, and will actuate that power which she feels she hath, so as to establish her own system, *and to change the system of Europe.*"

He compares the colonies to eaglets that commence the first efforts of their pinions from the high ground of improvement up to which the most enlightened parts of Europe have toiled. He dwells on their progressive population, their enormous abundance of bread-corn, their fisheries, "which are mines of more solid riches than all the silver of Potosi," their inventive spirit, and their commercial activity. He foretells that the new State will be an active naval power, the arbitress of commerce, and perhaps the mediatrix of peace; that her people will build and navigate ships cheaper than any country in Europe; that the peculiar articles of trade to be had only in America will give her supremacy; that she will not long suffer the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company, and will soon be found trading in the South Sea, in China, and the Spice Islands of the Dutch. He sees in spirit that there will be an almost general emigration to her shores, that she will become a free port to the world and obtain free trade in return, and thus become the world's chief carrier. Already he forestalls the desire of Washington that America shall avoid all "entangling alliances with European powers other than commercial." It is his belief, however, that one day there will be a rejuncture by alliance with England because of the manifold similarity of living and thinking, manners and fashions, language and old habits of national love, "the very indentings of the fracture where North America is broken off from Europe." There is a strange historical second sight in the assertion that the sovereigns of Europe who have neglected to interweave their interests with this rising state will call upon their wise men, but in vain:

"Come, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me."

The last lines seem like an echo of another prophecy in Cowley's poem already mentioned. Addressing the New World, he says:

"Long rolling years shall late bring on the times,
When with your gold debauched and ripened crimes,
Europe, the world's most noble part, shall fall
Upon her banished gods and virtue call

In vain, while foreign and domestic war
At once shall her distracted bosom bar. . . .
Forlorn, and to be pitied even by you;
Meanwhile your rising glory you shall view,
Wit, learning, virtue, discipline of war,
Shall for protection to your world repair
And fix a long illustrious empire there."

During this century *the splendid and growing unity of the United States* has been the theme of more than one philosophical writer on our country. De Tocqueville wrote in 1835, in his epoch-making "Democracy in America," as follows:

"The Americans of the United States, whatever they do, will become one of the greatest peoples of the earth; they will cover, with their offshoots, almost all North America. The continent which they inhabit is their domain; it cannot escape them."

Cobden gave fundamental reasons for this when he wrote in 1849, that

"Race, religion, language, traditions are becoming bonds of union and not the parchment title-deeds of sovereigns"; . . .

that henceforth these instincts will

"warn rulers that the acquisition of fresh territory by force of arms will only bring embarrassments and civil war, instead of that increased strength which, in ancient times, when people were transferred like flocks of sheep from one king to another, always accompanied the incorporation of new conquests."

The stirring words of De Tocqueville recall the no less brilliant paragraph of John Bright's speech at Birmingham, in 1862:

"I have a far other and far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main, . . . and I see one people and one law, and one language, and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom, and the refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime."

More than once the men of the eighteenth century expressed the idea that the *fortune of empire was moving Westward.* Less romantic than the visions of Oisin or Bran, these prophetic voices are worthy of note for their tone of absolute conviction. In the only poem known to have been found among his works, entitled "On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America," and dated about 1726, the famous Bishop Berkeley clothed in immortal verse his own firm belief in the future of the great Western world:

"There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

"Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first Acts already past,
A fifth shall close the Drama with the day:
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

Of this extraordinary prophecy, which resembles very much the thought of the poet Cowley, Daniel Webster said:

"It was an intuitive glance into futurity; it was a grand conception, strong, ardent, glowing, embracing all time since the creation of the world and all regions of which that world is composed, and judging of the future by just analogy with the past. And the inimitable imagery and beauty with which the thought is expressed, joined to the conception itself, render it one of the most striking passages in our language."

There is in Galt's "Life of Benjamin West" a very curious passage in which is related the meeting at Rome in 1760 of the painter and a certain famous improvisatore. We are told that after singing the darkness which for so many years veiled America from the eyes of Science, and also the fulness of time when the purposes for which this continent had been raised from the deep would be manifest, the poet hailed the youth before him as an instrument of heaven to raise there a taste

for the arts which elevate man, and an assurance of refuge to science and knowledge when, in the old age of Europe, they should have forsaken her shores. Then in the spirit of prophecy he sang:

"But all things of heavenly origin, like the sun, move Westward; truth and art have their periods of shining and of night. Rejoice, then, O Venerable Rome, in thy divine destiny; for though darkness overshadow thy seats, and though thy mitred head must descend into the dust, thy spirit immortal and undecayed already spreads towards a new world."

John Adams used to say that nothing was more ancient in his memory than the observation that arts, science, and empire had traveled Westward. He has handed down a couplet with the tradition that it had been drilled by the Pilgrim Fathers into a rock on the shore of Monument Bay in the old Colony of Plymouth:

"The Eastern nations sink, their glory ends,
And Empire rises where the sun descends."

A similar reflection is met with in the unsympathetic Burnaby's "Travels Through the Middle Settlements of North America in 1759 and 1760":

"An idea, strange as it is visionary, has entered into the minds of the generality of mankind, that empire is travelling Westward; and every one is looking forward with eager and impatient expectation to that destined moment when America is to give the law to the rest of the world."

Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), Chief Justice of Massachusetts in 1718, quotes from Isaias (XI. 14) in the preface to his "Apocalyptica": "But they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines toward the West." He is of opinion that the "New Heaven and the New Earth" are America:

"New Jerusalem will not straiten and enfeeble; but wonderfully develop and invigorate Christianity in the several Quarters of the World, in Asia, in Africa, in Europe, and in America. And one that has been born or hath lived in America more than three score years; it may be pardonable for him to ask, Why may not that be the place of New Jerusalem?"

He would no longer call it America, but Columbina, "from the magnanimous hero, Christopher Columbus, the Genoese first explorer and *plainly divinely appointed discoverer of these lands.*"

This idea of the westward course of Empire recurs again in the correspondence of the learned and witty Abbé Galvani (1728–1787). In a letter dated at Naples, July 28, 1778, he says to his correspondent:

"You will at this time have decided the greatest revolution of the globe, namely, if it is America which is to reign over Europe, or if it is Europe which is to continue to reign over America. I will wager in favor of America, for the reason merely physical that for five thousand years genius has turned opposite to the diurnal motion, and traveled from the East to the West."

In another letter written from Naples to Madame d'Epinay, May 18, 1776, he foretells the success of the American Revolution and announces the decay of Europe:

"Livy said of his age which so much resembled ours: 'We are in an age where the remedies hurt as much as the vices.' Do you know the reality? The time has come of the total fall of Europe and of transmigration to America. All here turns into rottenness,—religion, laws, arts, sciences,—and all hastens to renew itself in America. This is not a jest, nor is it an idea drawn from the English quarrels; I have said it, announced it, preached it, for more than twenty years, and I have constantly seen my prophecies come to pass. Therefore, do not buy your house in the Chaussée d'Antin; you must buy it in Philadelphia. My trouble is that there are no abbeys in America."

Akin to these prophetic utterances are the fine lines of the contemporary poet Mason. He declares that the corruption of the House of Commons will increase:

"Till, mocked and jaded with the puppet play,
Old England's genius turns with scorn away,
Ascends his sacred bark, the sails unfurl'd,
And steers his State to the wide Western World.
High on the helm majestic Freedom stands,
In act of cold contempt she waves her hands;
Take, slaves, she cries, the realms that I disown,
Renounce your birthright and destroy my throne!"

Statesmen and political thinkers could not but notice that the exhausting of continental Europe by the dynastic wars of the eighteenth century coincided with the rapid growth of the English colonies, and that the expulsion of France from North America left only English colonies, already embittered against the mother country, and conscious of illimitable destiny. The literary forces which had been creating the new philosophy of humanity, the rights of man, the dream of a new and model state, had their broadest and most propitious field in the English colonies, where, in turn, all such writings fed the hopes of independence. Coupled with this went the idea that once these colonies threw off the yoke of England they must develop and expand until the whole New World fell under their control. In a letter attributed to the Marquis de Montcalm, dated October 1, 1758, he says:

"All these informations which I every day receive confirm me in my opinion that England will one day lose her colonies on the continent of America." . . .

And in another letter, dated Quebec, August 24, 1759, the eve of the fatal battle of the Plains of Abraham, he writes:

"I shall at least console myself in my defeat and on the loss of the colony, by the full persuasion that this defeat will one day serve my country more than a victory, and that the conqueror, in aggrandizing himself, will find his tomb in the country he gains from us. . . . All the English colonies would long since have shaken off the yoke, each province would have formed itself into a little independent republic, if the fear of seeing the French at their door had not been a check upon them. . . . Canada, once taken by the English, would in a few years suffer much more from being forced to be English. . . . They would soon be of no use to England, and perhaps they would oppose her."

Ten years later, the powerful minister De Choiseul made these views his own. In a letter to Du Chatelet, July 15, 1768, he says:

"According to the prognostications of sensible men, who have an opportunity to study the character of the Americans and to measure their progress from day to day in the spirit of independence, this separation of the American colonies from the metropolis must sooner or later come."

In a letter of November 9, 1768, we read :

"Without exaggerating the projects or the union of the Colonies, the time of their independence is very near. . . . Three years ago the separation of the English colonies was looked upon as an object of attention for the next generation; the germs were observed, but no one could foresee that they would be so speedily developed. This new order of things, this event which will necessarily have the greatest influence on the political system of Europe, will probably be brought about within a very few years."

By these remarks he forestalls the prophecy of Pownall, quoted above, by some twelve years, and lets the reader see that European monarchy was already conscious, throughout its entire system, of the philosophical gravity of the situation whose elements were then stirring.

It could not but follow that *the widest expansion should be imagined for the new State*, the throes of whose birth were even then upon the world. For two centuries missionaries, merchants, and travellers, had been mapping out its possible boundaries, threading all its magnificent water-ways of communication, noting the extremities of climate and healthfulness, its illimitable capacities of self-sustenance. The hardiness and ambition of the colonists were by-words in every salon of Europe. And it seemed to the philosophers of society who then abounded, that the new State ought at once to spread the pegs of its tabernacles so as to cover the whole continent, and give to humanity the example of a world truly new and healthy in every member of the body politic. The Revolution was yet before the men of Europe; they still indulged in the golden dream of a reign of absolute reason. The inevitable shadows and failures and imperfections of the new times had not yet been revealed to them by experience, the corrector and adapter of reason. They had yet to learn that the perfection of civil government comes from normal growth and natural development, not from the cabinet of the statesman, nor from the recesses of the philosopher's brain.

As early as 1780 the idealist Abbé Raynal saw the inevitable expansion of the English colonies in America. The last chapter of his work, "The Philosophical and Political His

tory of the Establishments and of the Commerce of Europeans in the Two Indies," contains some very striking paragraphs:

"The new hemisphere must detach itself some day from the old. The great dismemberment is prepared in Europe by the fermentation and the shock of our opinions; by the overthrow of our rights, which created our courage; by the luxury of our courts and the wretchedness of our fields; by the hate, enduring forever, between the cowards who possess all, and the robust, even the virtuous, who have nothing more to lose than life. It is prepared in America by the growth of population, of agriculture, of industry and of intelligence. All moves to this scission."

In an earlier edition he had underrated the quality of American intelligence. But before the vigorous reply of Jefferson could reach him he had risen to a higher view of the future of our national mind, and wrote as follows in the last edition of his work:

"Perhaps then it will be seen that America is favorable to genius, to the creative arts of peace and of society. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece, will produce on the continent, or in the archipelago which surrounds it, Homers, Theocrituses, and especially Anacreons. Perhaps another Newton will rise in the new Britain. It is from English America, no doubt, that will shoot forth the first ray of the sciences, if they are to appear at last under a sky so long clouded. By singular contrast with the ancient world, where the arts passed from the South towards the North, in the New we shall witness the North enlightening the South. Let the English clear the land, purify the air, change the climate, ameliorate nature; a new universe will proceed from their hands for the glory and the happiness of humanity."

This combination of *of literature and American democracy* is met with in the writings of a French statesman, Antoine Marie Cérisier, whom John Adams declared in 1782, "one of the greatest historians and political characters in Europe, exceedingly devoted by principle and affection to the American cause." It was his earnest wish that the Canadians and French emigrants should enter the new Confederation, and in a comparative study of ancient and modern republics he catches in advance the strains of future dramatists of the New World, "whose masterpieces shall breathe and inspire the hatred of tyrants and despots."

In a work published in 1778, entitled "Impartial Observations of a True Dutchman, in Answer to the Address of a self-styled Good Dutchman to his Compatriots," we read the following semi-prophetic words:

"Englishmen! it is necessary for you to submit to your destiny, and renounce people who do not wish longer to recognize you. To avoid giving them anxiety, and to prevent all dispute in the future, *have the courage to abandon to them the surrounding countries which have not yet thrown off your yoke. . . Let Canada make a fourteenth Confederate State!* What glory for you to have labored first for this interesting revolution! What glory for you that these settlements, the issue of your bosom, are associated with a powerful confederation and govern themselves as a republic!"

Two years later, in a work on "The Destiny of America," this seer proclaimed that all the American colonies and islands must become independent unless the ocean was to be reddened with blood.

"Then would the root of all future wars be removed, and a universal peace made possible by the absolute freedom of both Americas from all European control."

Haliburton, in his "Clockmaker," might treat with caustic humor our attempts to secure "a little strip of land, half fog, half bog, atween the State of Maine and New Brunswick; nothin' but wood, water and snakes, and no bigger than Scotland." Richard Cobden, writing in 1849, was of opinion that *Canada and the United States must some day be practically one.* In this letter, first made known by Charles Sumner, he says to his correspondent:

"I agree with you that nature has decided that Canada and the United States must become one, for all purposes of free intercommunication. Whether they also shall be united in the same Federal Government must depend upon the two parties to the union."

These words are a strange echo of the statement of John Adams in 1785, that—

"Canada and Nova Scotia must soon be ours; there must be war for it; they know how it will end, but the sooner the better. This done, we shall be forever at peace; till then, never."

In spite of the genius and persistence of Adams and Franklin, and the apparent good will of Lord Shelburne and his rep-

resentatives Oswald and Vaughan, at the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, the proposed and almost accepted cession of Canada and Nova Scotia did not take place. What it meant in the thought of Franklin is evident from the following passage of a letter to Lord Kames, written in 1759:

"No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do on the reduction of Canada; and this not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of opinion that the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British Empire lie in America; and though, like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are nevertheless broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever yet erected. I am, therefore, by no means, for restoring Canada to France. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will, in another century, be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic Sea will be covered with your trading ships; and your naval power, thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the globe and awe the world."

If that extraordinary man, Samuel Champlain, had not foretold the same, it would be strange to hear the prophecy of *the Panama and Nicaragua Canals* from the lips of the versatile and witty Abbé Grégoire, one of the constitutional bishops; to hear also of the completed freedom of the Antilles, a century before its accomplishment!

In 1791 he had foretold that "a day would come when the rays of the light-giving orb would no longer fall upon irons and slaves," and in 1808, in a work on the literature of the negroes, he writes:

"The American continent, asylum of liberty, is moving towards an order of things which will be common to the Antilles, and the course of which all the powers combined cannot arrest. . . .

"When an energetic and powerful nation, to which everything presages high destinies, stretching its arms upon the two oceans, Atlantic and Pacific, shall direct its vessels from one to the other by an abridged route,—it may be in cutting the Isthmus of Panama; it may be in forming a canal communicating, as has been proposed, by the River St. John and the Lake of Nicaragua,—it will change the face of the commercial world and the face of empires. Who knows if America will not then avenge the outrages she has received, and if our old Europe, placed in the rank of a subaltern, will not become a colony of the New World?"

The prophecies of Grégoire and Cérisier recur more explicitly in De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America":

"At an epoch which we can call near, since it concerns the life of a people, the Anglo-Americans will cover all the immense territory comprised between the polar ice and the tropics; they will spread from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean even to the coasts of the Southern Sea."

He goes on to declare, in the words of Charles Sumner, that many centuries will pass before the different offshoots of this race will cease to present a common physiognomy, that no epoch can be foreseen when in the New World there will be any permanent inequality of conditions, and that there are processes of association and of knowledge by which the people are assimilated with each other and with the rest of the world. He concludes:

"There will then come a time when there will be in North America one hundred and fifty millions of men, equal together, who will all belong to the same family, will have the same point of departure, the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and over which thought will circulate in the same form and paint itself in the same colors. All else is doubtful, but this is certain. Here is a fact entirely new, of which imagination can hardly seize the extent."

John Adams seems to have thrown out the germinal idea of this prophecy when, in 1787, he wrote his "Defence of the American Constitutions." Though a domestic prophecy it may be included here, because it was penned in London:

"The United States of America have exhibited, perhaps, the first example of governments erected on the simple principle of nature. . . . Thirteen governments thus founded on the natural authority of the people alone, without a pretence of miracle or mystery, and which are destined to spread over the northern part of that whole quarter of the globe, are a great point gained in favor of the rights of mankind. The experiment is made and has completely succeeded."

In the last chapter of the same book this father of the Republic writes:

"A prospect into futurity in America is like contemplating the heavens through the telescope of Herschel. Objects stupendous in their magnitudes and motions strike us from all quarters and fill us with amazement."

A hundred years ago it seemed a very remote possibility that *the English tongue should become the most widespread and influential of the world's vernaculars.* Yet we find a suspicion of the truth in a letter of David Hume to Gibbon, in 1767:

"Our solid and unceasing establishments in America, where we need less dread the inundations of barbarians, promise a superior stability and duration to the English language."

John Adams was unaware of this prophecy when he wrote from London in 1780 to the President of Congress:

"English is destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the past or French in the present age. The reason of this is obvious,—because the increasing population of America, and their universal connection and correspondence with all nations, will, aided by the influence of England in the world, whether great or small, force their language into general use, in spite of all the obstacles that may be thrown in their way, if any such there should be."

In the same year he writes again:

"You must know that I have undertaken to prophesy that English will be the most respectable language in the world and the most universally read and spoken in the next century, if not before the close of this."

Quite in line with this prophecy is the admission of the German philologist Grimm, that this language seems chosen, like its people, to rule in future times in a still greater way throughout the earth. Scarcely ten years have passed since Doellinger, speaking before the Bavarian Academy of Sciences at Munich on "The part taken by North America in Literature" made his own the vision of John Adams:

"English is at present the spoken and written language of ninety millions of people; it is the common language of two nations, each of which is a world power. Each, despite a diversity of interests, is physically and intellectually bound to the other. They must, therefore, in the future, continue to possess the same literature, and with it a common store of ideas and theories. To the Anglo-Saxon race, rather than to the German or the Slav, is assigned in the coming age the intellectual

supremacy that in ancient times belonged to the Greeks and afterwards to the Romans. The Germans will have their share in this primacy, and assuredly it will not be a small one; but they will have it indirectly merely—through the medium of the English language."

Do we not seem to hear again the victorious strain of Daniel (1562–1619), the poet-laureate of James I?

> "Who in time knows whither we may vent
> The treasures of our tongue? To what strange shores
> This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
> T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
> What worlds, in the yet unformed Occident,
> May 'come refined with the accents that are ours?"

The generous culture of an ideal humanity which filled the minds of the men of the last century is responsible for certain splendid prophecies of *a new and faultless state across the Atlantic*, coupled with the belief that this state is to arise in the English colonies. Such prophecies are all the more noteworthy when they come from the hereditary foe of England. Perhaps some such vision was in the mind of Montesquieu when he wrote in the "Esprit des Lois" (1748), that

> "we should see great peoples form themselves in the very forests which England sent them to inhabit."

Certainly the philosophic wits of the court of Louis XV. discussed the appearance of a state which should remedy by spirit and example the dying monarchies of Europe. In his "Thoughts on the Reformation of a State," about 1745, the Marquis d'Argenson, sometime minister of foreign affairs, wrote as follows:

> "Another great event to happen upon the round earth is this: The English have in North America domains great, strong, rich, well-regulated. There are in New England a parliament, governors, troops, white inhabitants in abundance, riches and mariners, which is worse. I say that some bright morning these dominions can separate from England, rise and erect themselves into an independent republic. What will happen from this? Do people think of this? A country well regulated by the arts of Europe, in condition to communicate with it by the present perfection of its marine, and which by this will appropriate our arts in proportion to their improvement. Patience! Such a country will make

in some centuries great progress in population and in politeness; such a country will render itself in a short time master of America, and especially of the gold mines. . . . And you will then see how the earth will be beautiful! What culture! What new arts and new sciences! What safety for commerce! Navigation will precipitate all peoples towards each other. A day will come when one will go in a populous and regulated city of California as one goes in the stage-coach of Meaux."

About the same time his contemporary, Turgot, in turn seminarist, encyclopædist, statesman, financier, minister of the marine and reformer, foresaw almost from the seclusion of his seminary cloister the establishment of *a new world power* beyond the Atlantic. At a later period, in 1770, he wrote to the English philosopher, Josiah Tucker:

"As a citizen of the world I see with joy the approach of an event which, more than the books of all philosophers, will dissipate the phantoms of commercial jealousy. I mean the separation of your colonies from the mother country, which will be followed soon by that of all America from Europe. It is then that the discovery of this part of the world will become to us truly useful. It is then that it will multiply our employments more abundantly than when we purchased them with torrents of blood."

The following paragraph from his letter to Dr. Richard Price on the American Constitution, written in 1778, sums up the ardent aspirations of all the European friends of human progress and happiness:

"It is impossible not to offer vows that this people may arrive at all the prosperity of which it is susceptible. It is the hope of the human race. It can become its model. It must prove to the world, by the fact, that men can be free and tranquil, and can dispense with the chains of all kinds which tyrants and charlatans of every cloth have pretended to impose under the pretext of public good. It must give the example of political liberty, of religious liberty, of commercial and industrial liberty. The asylum which it opens to the oppressed of all nations must console the earth. The facility it affords for escape from a bad government will force the European governments to be just and enlightened. The rest of the world, little by little, will open their eyes to the nothingness of the illusions in which politicians have nursed them. To this end it is necessary that America should take guarantees and should not become an image of Europe, a heap of divided powers, disputing about territory or commercial profits, and continually cementing the slavery of people with their own blood."

Raynal, in the work already cited, turns a sorrowful eye towards the new people in the far western world, and exclaims:

"The mine is preparing beneath the foundations of our rocking empires. . . . While our people are weakening and succumbing to each other, population and agriculture are increasing in America. The arts transported by our care will quickly spring up there. This country, derived from nothing, burns to figure in turn upon the face of the globe and in the history of the world. O posterity! thou wilt be more happy, perhaps, than thy unfortunate and contemptible ancestors."

Among the European friends of the new state one of the staunchest was Dr. Richard Price, of London, already referred to as correspondent of Turgot. Congress actually sent this good man a resolution expressing their "desire to consider him as a citizen of the United States and to receive his assistance in regulating their finances." Among other pamphlets he wrote, in 1784, "Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution and the Means of Making it a Benefit to the World." He had already foretold the disruption of the New from the Old world as *a new era in the annals of mankind.* He now adds:

"With heartfelt satisfaction I see the revolution in favor of universal liberty which has taken place in America,—a revolution which opens a new prospect in human affairs, and begins a new era in the history of mankind. . . . Perhaps I do not go too far when I say that, next to the introduction of Christianity among mankind, the American revolution may prove the most important step in the progressive course of human improvement."

This was in 1784. The previous year Governor Pownall had written in the same strain to Franklin:

"I write to congratulate you on the establishment of your country as a free and sovereign power, taking its equal station amongst the powers of the world. I congratulate you in particular as chosen by Providence to be a principal instrument in the great Revolution,—a revolution that has stronger marks of Divine interposition, superseding the ordinary course of human affairs, than any other event which this world has experienced."

When Franklin was leaving Europe, in 1785, Pownall wrote him:

"Adieu, my dear friend. You are going to a New World, formed to exhibit a scene which the Old World never yet saw. You leave me here in the Old World, which, like myself, begins to feel, as Asia hath felt, that it is wearing out apace. We shall never meet again on this earth; but there is another world where we shall, and where we shall be understood."

The last of these prophecies, and perhaps the most curious, is one to which the results of the late war with Spain lends immediate interest. It comes from the pen of D'Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris in 1783. On the occasion of the signing of the Treaty of Paris he communicated to the King of Spain a secret memoir that was first published in a French translation by Muriel in 1837, as an appendix to "Coxe's Memoirs of the House of Bourbon in Spain." The Mexican historian, Lucas Alaman, says that it has a "just celebrity because results have made it pass for a prophecy." The ambassador writes to his king in a strain of deep dissatisfaction with the conduct of France during the American Revolution:

"The independence of the English colonies has been acknowledged. This is for me an occasion of grief and dread. France has few possessions in America; but she should have considered that Spain, her intimate ally, has many, and that she is left to-day exposed to terrible shocks. From the beginning France has acted contrary to her true interests in encouraging and seconding this independence; I have so declared often to the ministers of this nation. What could happen better for France than to see the English and the Colonists destroy each other in a party warfare which could only augment her power and favor her interests? The antipathy that reigns between France and England blinded the French cabinet; it forgot that its interest consisted in remaining a tranquil spectator of this conflict; and, once launched in the arena, it dragged us unhappily, and by virtue of the family compact, into a war entirely contrary to our own interests."

D'Aranda foresaw with great precision the trend of political events in the New World, once the controlling influences of England and France were withdrawn. After touching on certain general considerations, he goes on to depict the

"dangers from the new power which we have just recognized in a coun-

try where there is no other in condition to arrest its progress. *This Federal Republic is born a pigmy, so to speak.* It required the support and the forces of two powers as great as Spain and France in order to obtain independence. A *day will come when it will be a giant, even a colossus, formidable in these countries.* It will then forget the benefits which it has received from the two powers, and will dream of nothing but to organize itself. Liberty of conscience, the facility for establishing a new population on immense lands, as well as the advantages of the new government, will draw thither agriculturists and artisans from all the nations; for men always run after fortune. And in a few years we shall see with true grief the tyrannical existence of this same colossus of which I speak."

To his prophetic eye the Floridas are already lost, and the *balance of sea power gone over completely to the new state* just rising in its puissant majesty along the Atlantic seaboard. What premonitions of Manila and Santiago could have been floating through the veteran statesman's fancy as he penned the following?

"The first movement of this power, when it has arrived at its aggrandizement, will be to obtain possession of the Floridas in order to dominate the Gulf of Mexico. After having rendered commerce with New Spain difficult for us, it will aspire to the conquest of this vast empire, which it will not be possible for us to defend against a formidable power established on the same continent and in its neighborhood. These fears are well-founded, sire; they will be changed into reality in a few years, if, indeed, there are not other disorders in our Americas still more fatal. This observation is justified by what has happened in all ages, and with all nations which have begun to rise. Man is the same everywhere; the difference of climate does not change the nature of our sentiments; he who finds the opportunity of acquiring power and aggrandizing himself, profits by it always. How then can we expect the Americans to respect the kingdom of New Spain, when they shall have the facility of possessing themselves of this rich and beautiful country? A wise policy counsels us to take precautions against evils which may happen. This thought has occupied my whole mind, since, as minister plenipotentiary of your Majesty, and conformably to your royal will and instructions, I signed the Peace of Paris. I have considered this important affair with all the attention of which I am capable, and after much reflection drawn from the knowledge, military as well as political, which I have been able to acquire in my long career, I think that, in order to escape the great losses

with which we are threatened, there remains nothing but the means which I am about to have the honor of exhibiting to your Majesty."

The plan of D'Aranda was to establish a Spanish empire, divide Spanish America into three kingdoms, with an Infanta over each, and retain Cuba and Porto Rico, with some other states as Crown colonies. It was what Portugal did in Brazil. But some fate held the hand and brain of Spain, and paralyzed all the noble energies of which that people was once capable. The prophecy of D'Aranda stands fulfilled to its last iota, and the further prophecy of Lucas Aleman as to the absorption of Mexico moves up to the front rank in the extraordinary drama that unrolls its vicissitudes with lightning-like rapidity.

Out of all these prophecies and forecastings of the European mind there rises the complete and splendid vision of a boundless new state, whose language shall be the English tongue, whose citizens shall be a new cosmopolitan race, whose industry and commerce shall flourish as those of Tyre and Sidon never did, whose power shall be irresistible on sea, and the very vastness of whose territory and political unity shall make it invincible.

It is to be commensurate with North America, and one day Canada and Nova Scotia, Mexico and the Antilles, will be constituent parts of its vast domain. In this state, greater than ever an Alexander conceived or a Cæsar compacted, are to reign ideal manhood, equal right, unchecked and unhampered development of every human capacity. Any European power that withstands it is destined, by an inexorable law, to go down in the conflict, leaving this Union of freemen ever more powerful and glorious. To unity of language and government shall correspond the unification of all geographical advantages, so that the citizens of this new state shall be able to cross it with ease in every direction and to circumnavigate it with the least discomfort and delay. Compared with this creation of the brain of man the Lost Atlantis is an inferior conception. So powerful will this state become that ancient Europe will be obliged to modify its monarchies before the pressure of an enormous, happy, progressive democracy. This future state appears in a certain mystic splendor, as a political

New Jerusalem, a new up-building of society from its original foundations. Preoccupied with their own woes, and influenced by an *a priori* unreal philosophy, the prophets of Europe either foresaw for this state no slowness or imperfection of growth, or lost sight of such in contemplation of the certain result. Finally they saw in its agricultural and industrial independence the only sure pledge of absolute and perpetual peace, a temptation and solicitation to all peoples to come voluntarily within the circle of its benefits,—an idea that finds eloquent expression in our own Barlow's Columbiad (1807), which closes with a prayer that the new world-power may

> "Bid the last breath of dire contention cease,
> And bind all regions in the league of peace;
> Bid one great empire, with extensive sway,
> Spread with the sun and bound the walls of day;
> One centred system, one all-ruling soul,
> Live through the parts and regulate the whole."

That "great republican," Sir William Jones, loved to dwell on this glorious dream and has left us in the following verses,—forerunners of Whitman and of Bryant,—what is, perhaps, the most elegant expression of so many oracular forebodings,—the horoscope, as it were, of the New World, cast beside the couch of its exhausted parent:

> "Beyond the vast Atlantic deep
> A dome by viewless genii shall be raised,
> The walls of adamant, compact and steep,
> The portals with sky-tinctured gems emblazed.
> There, on a lofty throne shall virtue stand;
> To her the youth of Delaware shall kneel;
> And when her smiles rain plenty o'er the land,
> Bow, tyrants, bow beneath the 'avenging steel!'
> Commerce with fleets shall mock the waves,
> And arts that flourish not with slaves,
> Dancing with every grace and muse,
> Shall bid the valleys laugh and heavenly beams diffuse."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

SOME PHASES OF SHAKSPEREAN INTERPRETATION.

It is with much dissatisfaction that a lover of Shakspere reads the various essays and volumes which pretend to show what the poet's personal religious faith or opinion really was. Apparently such inquiry soon degenerates into active and unreasonable partisanship, in which desire and imagination twist facts into all sorts of shapes. It is only necessary to examine nearly every modern critic of Shakspere, including one of the latest, George Brandes,[1] to show that the partisan is always behind the interpreter. Sir William Fraser, generally well balanced, loses his self-control, like the others, when he touches the author of "Hamlet." "Two scenes in Shakspere," Sir William says, in "Hic et Ubique,"[2] "I have always regretted. I think that he transgresses in both the limits of art in different ways; they are to me most painful to read. The scene between Arthur and Hubert, in 'King John,' and that between Glo'ster and Lady Anne, in 'Richard the Third.' I can hardly suppose that such a scene as the latter can be true to nature. I hope that it is unnatural." So far Sir William's opinion is very well,—and, though eminent men of letters who assume to be psychologists tell us that Lady Anne did just what might have been expected of her; most of us doubtless have more sympathy with Sir William's point of view. Suddenly, not willingly for a moment that even a pebble should be cast at the dramatist of his idolatry, he begins to interpret. "Has," he asks, "the idea suggested itself that this scene was put in by the poet to gratify Elizabeth by a reflection on her cousin and rival, Mary of Scotland, as to her marriage with the Duke of Orkney?"

Taking everything into consideration, this makes the judicious smile, and Sir William does the best he can, under the circumstances, by putting the suggestion in the form of a

[1] William Shakspere: a Critical Study. London: Wm. Heinemann.
[2] New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

question. But it must be admitted that some of the inferences of Mr. Richard Simpson, of M. Rio, of Mr. Wilkes, who take a brief for Shakspere's Catholicism, are as far-fetched as this chance guess of Sir William Fraser's, or as the elaborate apologias for his supposed indifference to religion made by Vehse, Laird, Kreysig or Tyler. The researches and opinions of the late Mr. Simpson are edited by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. "The Religion of Shakespeare"[1] is a valuable and interesting book, apart from what its author tries to prove, and to persons who have already made up their minds that all the greatest actors in the world's history were of the one Faith, either by anticipation or participation, it will be delightfully edifying and perennially refreshing. For there can be nothing more permanently agreeable than to find one's preferences corroborated in a well-printed, well-bound book. The defect in Mr. Simpson's "Religion of Shakespeare," which Father Bowden has carefully revised, lies in the thesis that either the Catholic Church or the Protestant opinion makes or unmakes a poet, or that either or any other religion "gives birth to a poet." "The Reformed creed was," Father Bowden says, "we think, from its negative and materialistic tendency, unfitted to give birth to a poet." And then he quotes Mr. Matthew Arnold: "Catholicism, from its antiquity, its pretensions to universality, from its really widespread prevalence, from its sensuousness, has something European, august and imaginative; Protestantism presents, from its inferiority in all these respects, something provincial, mean and prosaic." It is not hard to admit this, nor is it hard to make manifest that the synthesizing power of the Church has gathered all that is beautiful and splendid about her; it is needless to express what is so evident. The narrow creed of Calvin cut away from the splendor and beauty even of the Bible it professed to idolize. But human nature and tradition and genius have been too strong for artificial bonds, even for that false asceticism which occasionally shows itself among Catholics themselves.

It is assumed, too, by many of the opposing interpreters of Shakspere that he was everything but a poet, although they

[1] The Religion of Shakespeare: Chiefly from the Writings of the late Richard Simpson, M. A. London: Burns & Oates.

pretend great reverence for him under this title;—in reality, however, they strain every nerve to prove that he was a philosopher, a historian, a sociologist, a conscious psychologist, a doctor of laws in everything but title, a politician, a hater of the existing form of government, a conspirator against it in words, a devout and lettered theologian, a reformer, an accomplished courtier, and a hundred other things;—when, after all, he was something at least as great as all the fine attributes of man,—a poet. In spite of all protestations to the contrary, it is becoming more and more evident to the students of Shaksperean criticism that the synthetical, inexplicable divine poetic gift that made Shakspere what he was is the one factor which most of the learned gentlemen,—including Father Bowden, Professor Furnivall, Herr Vehse, *et al.*,—dim somewhat in analyzing the qualities. He is in love with truth and beauty, like all poets; and the higher the quality of the poet, the more he is in love with truth and beauty. Writers, like Father Bowden, Mr. Simpson, and certainly most of the men who take the opposite view of Shakspere's religion, seem unwilling to leave much to God. They do not realize that what we call genius is beyond all explanation; but their reading of great poets, particularly of this great poet, ought to have taught them that the more universal a poet is, the easier it is for lesser minds to put what they like into his works. And they seem to forget, too, that history seen from the modern point of view is an illusion so far as it may be supposed to be a guide to the meaning of the past. This is less true of Father Bowden than of most others; but sometimes he appears to lose sight of the difference in the attitude of Catholics before the Council of Trent and their attitude to day. It is a truism to say that St. Thomas, in the spirit of the Church, made the great synthesis. And yet many of us who accept this as a fact beyond argument talk and write as if the essences he fixed, and which permeate all that is best in art and literature, were invented by him. Similarly we find Father Bowden and Mr. Simpson noting elementary moral truths uttered by Shakspere and which were acknowledged by Pagans as well as Christians, which are as evident in Homer as in Dante, as

quasi-protests against the doctrines of the Reformation. In the first chapter of "The Religion of Shakespeare," for instance, Father Bowden declares that the famous lines in "As You Like It":

> "Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything,"

"is in its very essence opposed to the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation, as we have already shown." Father Bowden has already said:[1] "There are, broadly speaking, two views of nature,—the Catholic and the Protestant. What may be the Protestant view at the present day is perhaps difficult to determine, for Protestantism is fluctuating and manifold. But the Protestantism of Shakespeare's day was clearly defined. Nature was a synonym for discord. Man through his fall was in essential discord with God; the lower world was in discord with man. The Redemption had brought no true healing of this rupture; for salvation was wrought not by internal restoration, but by mere outward acceptance. Saint and sinner were intrinsically alike. In saint as in sinner," continues Father Bowden, "there was, to use the words of a reformed confession of faith, 'an intimate, profound, inscrutable, and irreparable corruption of the entire *nature*, and of all the powers, especially of the superior and principal powers of the soul.' . . . The mind of man has grown darkened; he cannot see in creatures the beauty of Him that made them. The will of man has grown hardened; he cannot see in creatures the beauty and goodness of the Lord. Creatures can teach man no moral lesson, for man is no longer a moral being. His freedom of will has left him; his instincts are all towards vice. Nature can only find food for his passions and minister to the vices of his fallen state."

Now, there can be no question that Shakspere was out of sympathy with this black Lutheranism; but that it represented the spirit of the Elizabethan reform, or that it was held by anybody in England, except the Puritans, is doubtful. At any rate, it was not exposed in the poetry of Wyatt, of Sidney, of Spenser, and they were certainly Protestants in the

[1] The Religion of Shakespeare, p. 12.

Elizabethan sense of the word. Nothing can be more opposed to it than the sentiment of the splendid "Epithalamium" of Spenser. The Duke senior's speech, in "As You Like It," might have been uttered by Horace or Theocritus, voicing the better Paganism,—only we should have, perhaps, to re-define the word "good." Adding illustrations, Father Bowden quotes as against the revised Protestantism of the times:

> "Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
> Which in their summer beauty kissed each other."[1]

This is quite as much Pagan as Catholic,—in fact, our early Christian ancestors borrowed the symbolic rose from the Pagans, and Milton, Puritan of the Puritans, might have used this metaphor without being reasonably accused of leaning towards the Pope. In "Cymbeline" Guiderius says:

> "For notes of sorrow out of tune are worse
> Than priests and fanes that lie."

And this, humanely speaking, is very fine and impassioned. But Father Bowden seriously adds: "It is impossible to suppose that Shakespeare really held that the singing of a *Miserere* a trifle too sharp was worse than a hypocritical priesthood and a false religion. Read ironically, the text means, 'You talk of the lying priests and their lying temples; I hold your vile psalm-singing to be ten times worse.'"[2]

Observe the effect of searching through the most vital of poets, note-book in hand, to prove a cause. It means chronic Philistinism. If Shakspere wrote that very human and exaggerated and pathetic and sweet speech of Guiderius to be "read ironically," he deserves to be deprived of the honor of having written it. He wrote it as a poet, not as a polemist; he had no thought of the *Miserere*, but only of a strain, nameless, full of grief and longing. One might as well read into Ophelia's artless speech to the Queen Mother all sorts of insults to Queen Elizabeth, or into Laertes' defiance of the priest an attack on the Catholic rules of Church discipline in England. In a word, Shakspere was a poet, and of his time, which was

[1] Richard III.

[2] P. 370.

not a Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Puritan time at all,—whatever the Lutherans in their confession of faith may have said. But both Father Bowden and Mr. Simpson will have it that Shakspere was the one Catholic poetic dramatist in a time permeated with general philosophic and popular opposition to Catholic teaching, and hence these strange and stretched extensions of poetry to fit the bed of prose. Not so very long ago, when it was announced that the last words Lord Tennyson had read on his deathbed were those of the spoken duo between Guiderius and Arviragus, some of us regretted that they were not those of the *Miserere* or *Dies Irae*, and felt that the greatest lyrist of our century had died as a poet rather than as a Christian. But, when it suits our purpose, we insinuate that Guiderius had the song of Faith in his breast when what he had, in his mind, on his lips, was the beautiful chaunt, as much Pagan as Christian, but not rejected of Christianity:

"Fear no more the heat o' the sun,
Nor the furious winter's rages;
Thou thy worldly task has done,
Home art gone and ta'en thy wages;
Golden lads and girls all must,
As chimney sweepers, come to dust."

Gui. Fear no more the lightning flash,
Arv. Nor the all-dreaded thunder-stone;
Gui. Fear not slander, censure rash;
Arv. Thou hast finish'd joy and moan:
Both. All lovers young, all lovers must
Consign to thee and come to dust.

I trust that the readers of this article will understand that I am entirely in sympathy with the authors of "The Religion of Shakespeare" in their belief that the Thomist philosophy permeates Shakspere's plays and sonnets. The poet was the result of previous years and the interpreter of inherited philosophy and ethics; and the results of Christian philosophy and ethics could not be driven from Elizabethan or Jacobean schools, homes, and churches by acts of Parliament. They were of the essential life of the people, and they are of the essential life of the people still, as the study of contemporary English literature will show. The poet or the novelist to-day—the pub-

licist, in fact, governed by English traditions—accepts the same system of ethics, derived from the teaching of the Church, as Shakspere used for a groundwork to his marvels. The ethics of Shakspere are the ethics of Tennyson; and Swinburne and Thomas Hardy acknowledge their existence by revolting from them. The mistake that modern writers, Catholic and non-Catholic, make is in fancying that the influence of the philosophy and ethics wrought into the very tissue of national life by the Church could be destroyed by the political defiance of Henry VIII., or even by years of Erastianism. The sacramental ideal has lived in the hearts of the English people like the vital germ in the wheat grains found in the Egyptian mummy cases. Concerning Shakspere, it must be remembered that he, as a dramatist, appealed directly to the people; he was dependent on the favor of the people. If his audience had found "Hamlet" dull or "Measure for Measure" alien to their ideas of morality, all the genius of the author and all the talent of the actors at the Globe would not have saved it. But we find that no dramatic author of the later Elizabethan and earlier Jacobean time was more popular than Shakspere. How does Father Bowden reconcile this fact with the statement that he was not of his time? If any man must be of his time, it is the dramatic author, who is never the master, but always, more or less, the slave of his public. Again, it must be remembered that the party of reform—in the sense in which Father Bowden defines the word—did not frequent the theaters. If Shakspere had, being a Catholic at heart, written plays against the sentiment of those who acclaimed him, he would not have been able to build New Place or to assume his arms at Stratford as a country gentleman.

One of the surprising tenets of the school of critics to which Father Bowden and so many others who draw deductions from Shakspere absolutely opposed to his belong, is that every man who writes must borrow a great thought directly from some other man. As if great thoughts were not in the air, as if the receptive and comprehensive mind did not live daily by assimilating noble things that are like flashes from the facets of the truth. Father Bowden makes a strong point against the methods of his own school of interpretation when he remarks:

"Does Hamlet say that there is nothing good or evil (in the physical order) but thinking makes so? This idea is borrowed from the pantheist Giordano Bruno, who was in London from 1583 to 1586; just after Shakespeare's arrival there, and who denied the existence (in the moral order) of either absolute good or evil. Again, Hamlet's praise of Horatio's equanimity, which 'takes buffets and rewards with equal thanks,' proves Shakespeare a stoic. The poet's desire for the immortality of his verse in praise of his beloved indicates his disbelief in the immortality of the soul.[1] His phrase 'the prophetic soul of the world' proves his pantheism, and the duty of meeting necessities as necessities clearly shows his determinism."

As a dramatist, at the moment of the whitest heat of the imagination, Shakspere does not represent himself or his belief in the utterances of his characters. Hamlet, in his "damnèd, vacillating state,"[2] was a pantheist and almost everything by turns, and Horatio says: "I am more an antique Roman than a Dane."

When Father Bowden insists in guaranteeing Shakspere's orthodoxy by the speeches of his creatures, or fails to see that it is only the existence of the solid but generally unexpressed dogmas behind them in the author's mind that make the never-boding contrast of the eternal with the evanescent, he becomes as unconvincing as Professor Dowden and Herr Vehse are when they draw their inferences. Commenting on Shakspere's—

> "So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
> And Death, once dead, there's no more dying then,"

[3]Furnivall says: "This dramatic voice, of course, does not always speak his own beliefs, yet such is his 'saturation with the Bible story,' so thoroughly does it 'seem as much part of him as his love of nature and music, bubbling out of him at every turn,' that I, with some reluctance, conclude that he held, in the main, the orthodox layman's belief of his day."

But the orthodox belief of the day was not Puritanism or

[1] The Religion of Shakespeare, p. 20.
[2] Tennyson's "Supposed Confessions of a Second-rate Sensitive Mind."
[3] Preface to Leopold edition.

Calvinism or Lutheranism, as Father Bowden would have us believe. What it was—what it could not help being, when we recall the fact that the mind and the temperament of men have never been changed in a few years, except by a miracle—is shown by evidence of Shakspere's plays and sonnets; it is shown by the undercurrent in Spenser and Sidney. "Shakspere was extremely fortunate in having parents who could neither read nor write," says Professor Halleck, in the "Education of the Central Nervous System;" [1] we can, therefore, be safe in assuming that the greater part of whatever information his parents had, came from the exercise of their own senses in the experience of life. Their senses would be the keener because they could not rely on books. . . . Herein lies the reason why Shakspere was fortunate in having intelligent parents who were not bookish. By force of example they taught him to rely largely on his senses for information." And, with acute senses and an imagination exquisitely susceptible, no human creature born and reared in Warwickshire could accept the evidences of Lutheranism. Rural England taught the old faith at every turn, as it does in Oxford to-day, as it does in Stratford to-day. The reform was a bookish thing, though it was not very much helped by the knowledge the young Elizabethans gathered from the Catechism, the Psalter, the Book of Common Prayer or the Small Catechism. Ritualism, reaction against barrenness of worship, must always exist in a country where the Gothic spire and the ruined monastery and the legend of the Sacramental Presence are everywhere. And all the beauty of the "ruined choirs" and the hidden God were very near to the boy Shakspere and other boys who were not sodden or perverted.

But no; everything must be drawn from books! Shakspere must have studied scholastic philosophy; he must have read St. Thomas, or Giordano Bruno; or St. Augustine or Lucretius; or Dante or Lorenzo Valla. Nothing whatever is left to that power of knowing the false from the true, that faculty of assimilating the beautiful, that quality of expressing it beautifully, which is the gift of God to the poet, and which

[1] P. 182.

makes him different from other men. Ethics that are as old as Homer, truths common to all men—though sometimes blurred,—which have been the salt of the world since Cain broke the unwritten law against murder, flashes of poetic fire that illumined Isaiah, are attributed to Christian authors, as if Christ had come, not to fulfill, but to invent. Let us remark that St. Thomas prefers, in one noble passage on the joys of contemplation, to invoke the authority of Aristotle:[1] "Comme si'il voulait indiquer les origines philosophiques de sa doctrine, et le lien qui la rattache en morale comme en métaphysique à la tradition péripatéticienne."

Now, in "The Religion of Shakespeare," and similar books by partisans, the example of St. Thomas is ignored. There seems to be the underlying inference that philosophy was discovered by St. Paul and poetry began with St. Peter. This view narrows and cramps us; at best, it irritates the scholar, and makes the student, blinded for the moment, accuse us of clouding the truth when he can remove the hood from his eyes. That religion builds upon the natural cannot be lost sight of without killing the vital quality in him that teaches.

In discussing "Measure for Measure,"—by far the noblest of all tragi-comedies,—Father Bowden, who so acknowledges, talks a great deal about the "teaching" of Shakespere; he is a casuist, in the best sense; he understands that the truth must not always be told; he rejects the principles of Protestantism that "each man is the sole interpreter of the moral law, as of revealed doctrine, and human engagements are supreme, the oath or word must be kept at any cost"; he accepts the lawfulness of "the use of equivocation when the truth is unjustly demanded." Says the Duke, in "Measure for Measure"—

"Pay with falsehood false exacting."

According to Father Bowden's interpretation, it is remarkable that, in this matter, "he should be again found in defending the unpopular and Catholic side." We all know the plot of "Measure for Measure," and we know the trick by which Isabella saves herself,—a kind of theatrical trick as common

[1] Philosophie de St. Thomas d'Aquin: Charles Jourdain.

in sixteenth century comedy as the long-lost brother incident was in the melodrama of the earlier nineteenth. The Duke advises it; but on the stage an act which needs defence must always be defended in accordance with the sympathy of the auditors. As to the action of the Duke himself, it can only be excused, even as a dramatic expedient, by quoting the sophism that "the end justifies the means." The Duke, as we all remember, masquerades as Friar Lodowick, and, in his last speech, he says, of Mariana,—

> "Love her, Angelo,
> I have confessed her, and I know her virtue."

It is difficult to understand how this sort of "teaching" can be turned to account by the most violent partisan of Shakespere's didacticism. But probably Father Bowden does not include the assumption by the Duke of sacerdotal power when he says:[1] "That is, the truth and fidelity we owe to some, may be at times only discharged by veiling truth to others. This is so, of course, as regards the professional secrets of lawyers, physicians, priests; but though recognized and acted on in practice, the theory of equivocation was denounced in Shakespere's time as Jesuitical and vile, as much as it is now."

But, if we are to hold men who wrote for the theatre responsible for the intrigues on which they hung their dramatic action; if we are to read profound meanings in time-worn stage tricks, what becomes of the "teaching" of Calderon and Lope de Vega, of whose practical adherence to the faith there can be no doubt? Both these great Spanish playwriters used situations, which, taken seriously and with their intentions not kept in view, are, to say the least, offensive to pious ears. The dramatists of the romantic period took the material that lay near them, material that had become traditional in many cases. In "As You Like It," for instance, the palm tree and the threatening serpent, not found in English forests, are mere "properties," as the sudden conversion of Orlando's wicked brother is a stage convention. Your true romanticist does not trouble himself about facts; he uses them, as an artist uses

[1] P. 37.

pigments, for their artistic values. Schiller makes Elizabeth and Mary Stuart meet, to the end that a great dramatic effect may be produced, though there is no record of such a meeting. And Sir Walter Scott's love for romantic effects leads him to invent passages in the lives of the great which are not found in accurate chronicles. Sir Walter, like Shakspere, has always the ethical background, but his characters cannot usually be quoted as representing himself or the morality which he revived and practiced.

Imogen, in "Cymbeline," says:

> "If I do lie, and do
> No harm by it, though the gods hear, I hope
> They'll pardon me."

Pesanio thinks:

> "Thou bidd'st me to my loss, for, true to thee,
> Were to prove false, which I will never be
> To him that is most true."

And, later:

> "Wherein I am false, I am honest; not true, to be true."

George Brandes, whose method of interpretation is similar to Father Bowden's, draws from "Cymbeline," which they both admire, almost revere, this inference, having quoted the lines of Pesanio:

"That is to say, he lies and deceives because he cannot help it; but his character is none the worse,—nay, all the better,—on that account. He disobeys his master, and thereby merits his gratitude; he hoodwinks Cloten, and therein he does well."[1]

Nowhere in Shakspere's plays do we find a character bereft of free will, for even his fools have the power to choose between good and evil; and, if we take Autolycus, Shakspere's chief rascal in "A Winter's Tale," as a fair example, we do not find that character is improved by deceit.

"Imogen,"[2] Mr. Simpson tells us, "is the ideal of fidelity, and of religious fidelity,—to be deceived neither by the foreign

[1] Brandes: William Shakespeare: a Critical Study, p. 338, vol. II.
[2] The Religion of Shakespeare, p. 369.

impostor, who comes to her in her husband's name, nor by the ennobled clown who offers himself under the Queen's protection." Now, listen to George Brandes' view of "Cymbeline," and you will observe that Father Bowden, Mr. Simpson and George Brandes are bound to put Shakspere in the right, no matter what he does:

"In the same way," Mr. Brandes continues, *a propos* of Pisanio, "all the nobler characters fly in the face of accepted moral laws. Imogen disobeys her father and braves his wrath, and, even his curse, because she will not renounce the husband of her choice. So, too, she afterwards deceives the young man in the forest by appearing in male attire and under an assumed name—untruthfully, and yet with a higher truth, calling herself Fidele, the faithful one. So, too, the upright Belarius robs the king of both his sons, but thereby saves them for him and for the country; and during their whole boyhood, he puts them off for their own good, with false accounts of things. So, too, the honest physician deceives the queen, whose wickedness he has divined, by giving her an opiate in place of a poison, and thereby baffling her attempt at murder. So, too, Guiderius acts rightly by taking the law into his own hand by answering Cloten's insults by killing him at sight and cutting off his head. He thus, without knowing it, prevents the brutish idiot's intended violence to Imogen."

It must be evident that the conduct of life, in these principles and practices, would be disastrous. But Shakspere, writing for the theatre, strung his effects of character and situation on these cross purposes, which it is absurd to take seriously. Why not say frankly that Imogen, like most people, Christian or Pagan, in a difficulty, was tempted to tell a falsehood, and she hoped that "the gods" might look upon it as a "white lie,"—as she intended to do no harm by it. What had Shakspere, in the heat of imagination, to do with the "doctrine of equivocation?" As Imogen had a good intention, the result seemed to justify it, and it helped the plot of the play. We may be quite sure that the Elizabethans did not worry themselves, as they listened, about the theory by which Mr. Simpson would perhaps excuse it. Similarly, "the ethics of intention," of which George Brandes talks, would

have doomed Guiderius, in the eyes of the audience, had his killing of Cloten not been necessary to the plot of "Cymbeline."

The critic who would make sermons out of songs is becoming a weariness to those who know that the great poet is seldom a conscious preacher, while the great preacher is very often a poet. That Shakspere's dramas are permeated with Christian ethics and with the philosophy of Christianity, there can be no doubt. It could not have been otherwise, for these were his inheritance, and he was too fine to reject them. They were his inheritance as they have been the inheritance of Sir Walter Scott and Tennyson, Thackeray and Longfellow; but he was nearer the source. And he, having God-given genius of the highest order, turned, by virtue of that gift, to the Light, as all great poets have done in their highest moments. That he represented the majority of his countrymen we know, since four-fifths of the English nation were Catholic at heart. As to his personal belief, it is plain, from the number of repetitions of the same ethical formulae, on the lips of certain characters,—who are, first of all, human and dramatic,—that he was the child of the Church, whose ethical traditions the English of to-day accept without acknowledging such acceptance. As to his practice, who of us can judge of what was demanded of the Catholic in the time of Elizabeth? Puritanism, gaining ground, thrust his dramas from the stage.[1] "It was a fanaticism which had found its way into his own home," writes George Brandes. Stratford was a stronghold of Puritanism. His wife and daughters, Susannah and Judith, were of the sect. "Judith," Brandes adds, "was as ignorant as a child. Thus he (Shakspere) must pay the penalty of his long absence from home and his utter neglect of the education of his girls."

This may explain how his daughters were divided from him in faith, but it is a sad commentary on the earnestness of a man who, at least in theory, held to the truths the Church conserves and interprets.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

[1] P. 391.

THE UNIVERSITY: A NURSERY OF THE HIGHER LIFE.

"In my time and country learning cures the disease of the purse fairly well; that of souls not at all. To him who has not the science of virtue all other knowledge is harmful."—Montaigne.

An irresistible instinct impels man to preserve and diffuse life, and therefore it is his nature to think it good,—not only good, but the standard by which all values are measured.

Life is good, and the highest life is the highest good. The morality of action is determined by its bearing on life. Religion and conduct spring from faith in its worth and sacredness, and urge to efforts to attain its maximum. That men may have life and have it more abundantly the Saviour came and the Church was established. For this the state also exists. To increase the power and quality of life, schools are founded, literature and science are studied, the arts are cherished.

Life, more life, ever-increasing life, is the aim and end of all we think and do. To inquire whether life is worth living is absurd, for life loves itself, and love originates all worth. Misconduct or misfortune may in individual instances enfeeble or even destroy the will to live, but the love of life and therefore the belief in life's goodness are indestructible.

Each new soul as it rises into consciousness is baptized with the waters of gladness; it feels that to be alive is joy, and its radical impulse is toward more and ever-more life, and this is true also of the race, which blindly indeed, and along mysterious ways that often seem to turn and sink, has risen with ineffable yearning and struggle and hope toward larger and freer life, attaining through the lapse of centuries to truer knowledge, to worthier ideals and to juster standards of conduct. Faith in the worth and sacredness of life is, at bottom, faith in God, as essential life. Our courage, our strength and gladness increase not when we look below, but when we look above. From whatever depths we have ascended, the height which calls us is infinite. The universe is not made of atoms. Atoms are but mental conceptions whereby we represent the world as a mechanism held together and controlled by causes.

In reality it is not a mechanism,—it is an organism, a system of means and ends. We therefore get at the secret and joy of life not by knowing, but by willing and loving, not through scientific abstractions, but through faith and conduct. The simplest soul wholly intent upon righteousness lives in a higher sphere than the philosopher who, neglecting his own perfection, gives himself up to research and speculation. The highest truth is practical; it is that which makes us wiser, braver and holier. This is the truth which we should most cherish and diffuse in the home, in the state, in the Church, and consequently in the university. They are all schools, and their worth is proportionate to their influence on life. The ideal is moral; not mental excellence, but human perfection.

Civilization is the unity of a people's moral will manifesting itself historically. The universities of the past, as those of our own day, have but partially fulfilled their mission, because they have failed to foster a deeper and purer moral life. Nay, often they have been and still are the nurseries of vice. The radical failure is moral failure, and the education which does not promote conduct, which does not build character, bears within itself a mortal taint. Our life is controlled and directed vastly more by what we feel than by what we know, and the power to feel and will is as educable as the intellect. We can be taught to believe, hope and love, to be brave, kindly and helpful, more easily than we can be taught to think; and without moral earnestness in the pursuit of truth it is not possible to learn to think to good purpose. When philosophy is studied as an intellectual pastime and conduct is looked upon as a matter of policy, no genuine education can be given or received.

Religious faith and conduct are the basis of right human life, and the student who is not inspired by this principle may become a brilliant or a famous, but not a great or a noble man. Hence, whatever removes the dangers which threaten moral purpose, as wealth and luxury, is helpful to the life of the scholar. "What rendered the University of Paris powerful, nay, positively formidable," says Savigny, "was its poverty. It did not possess so much as a building of its own, but was commonly obliged to hold its meetings in the cloisters of

friendly monastic orders. Its existence thus assumed a purely spiritual character and was rendered permanently independent of the temporal order." Its students were distinguished not less by their ardent application than by their poverty. It arose like our own University out of the faculty of theology, wrought in the spirit of a large philosophy, embracing the rational interpretation of the phenomena of mind and matter, was free from professional and technical aims, and was, throughout the middle ages, rightly regarded as the mother of universities. In every true university there must be a great moral purpose, and a great moral purpose to be inspiring and contagious, to have educational efficacy, must draw its nourishment from a deep and pure religious faith. Personal morality must be enrooted in the conviction that righteousness is life; if it be but a matter of convention and prudence, it is a dead and profitless thing.

It is doubtless the business of a university to educate the intellect, to make mental culture its direct scope; but knowledge should not be separate from wisdom, nor moral from intellectual excellence. The primary and essential aim is to form men, not scholars. The scholar, like the author or artist, is an inferior being unless he is also a noble character—brave, loving, pure, upright. Organization, buildings, endowments and privileges cannot make a school. There must be an inspiring idea, a lofty aim, a living purpose, animating both teachers and pupils. All else is idle, if this be lacking. In a university founded on religious faith and principle this truth applies with special force. Though religious faith is the great fountainhead of conduct, religion is not always a synonym of morality. On the contrary, it may associate itself with every human weakness and vice; but to have educational value it must be vital; must have the power to stimulate and nourish man's moral not less than his intellectual life. To be the highest it must be favorable to the highest life; and the highest life is sound in seeking not the knowledge which is sterile, but that which fulfills itself in deeds.

They who realize how much of the spiritual activity of the present age is found outside of the Church cannot but see that the Catholic religion must more and more cease to be a power

in the world unless Catholics themselves become morally and intellectually more alive. They must learn to understand that it is more important that they should do good than that they should do it in a particular way, more necessary that they should think than that they should think alike. In the presence of the vast movement of the modern world we Catholics seem to have grown timid, as though we feared lest human opinion should prevail against truth, man against God; and this lack of courage which comes of little knowledge and less faith, makes us weak and despondent. Whatever is an aid to human progress is favorable to the Christian religion, to the worship of God in spirit and in truth. We must learn to walk without fear in the midst of a world of widening knowledge, to welcome every addition to the treasure-house of the intellectual wealth of mankind, as a preparation, however remote, for the Kingdom of God, for whose coming the Saviour has taught us to pray. There is nothing in Catholic faith which should impede advance in any department of learning. It is only when we come to draw inferences that the Church sounds the note of caution; and this, if rightly understood, is helpful alike to the progress of science and to the soundness of religious doctrine.

All facts are sacred, since truth is sacred; and, consequently, there can be no reason why a Catholic university should impose restrictions upon inquiry and research. The intellectual interests of mankind, if not the highest, are at least immeasurably important, and to attempt to thwart them would be to place one's self in opposition to the mightiest force which the Eternal Father has confided to His children. It profits nothing to gain the world, if the soul is lost; but the world of which the Saviour speaks is that of greed, lust and ambition, not that of knowledge, science and philosophy. Hence the Christian ideal excludes pride and sensuality, not intellectual power. It is reason that makes us capable of religion; and, therefore, to improve the mind, to dispel the darkness of ignorance, which is the cause of three-fourths of our sins and miseries, is to work with God for the good of men. The spiritual union to which all generous souls aspire cannot be brought about by authoritative utterances, for we hold

vitally only the truths which our own self-activity kneads into our intellectual and moral constitution; and spiritual unity is the result of truth held in common, whether through faith or knowledge, and held vitally, not mechanically. Reason and authority are not antagonistic; on the contrary, no authority is legitimate unless it is approved by reason. Are we not eager to claim great and enlightened minds when they are friendly to our faith? Do we not appreciate the Catholics, at least when they are dead, who, despite human frailty and error, have done memorable things? Do we not extol the Church for what in ages that are gone it accomplished in behalf of literature, art and science? Do we not hold that modern civilization is largely due to the influence of the Catholic religion?

And what is all this but to proclaim our own shame, if we are retrograde, cowardly and inactive; if we suffer ourselves to be thrown into antagonism to living and fruitful movements; if losing confidence in ourselves and in our cause, we drift aimlessly and pour forth vain lamentations over a past which cannot return; for history does not repeat itself. The environment is not the same and the human factors change ceaselessly. Hence antiquarian reactions lack vitality. They fail even when they seem to succeed. In America the past has but feeble hold on our young and eager life, and we are too absorbed in our work to think of the present. The future therefore lures us with irresistible power. To commend a religious faith to us for its achievements in other ages is to plead in vain; as to strive to bring back the conditions of former times is labor lost. Were it possible our world would not have it. If we are to act along an inner line upon the life of America we must bring to the task a divine confidence that our Catholic faith is akin to whatever is true or good or fair, that as it allied itself with the philosophy, the literature, the art and the forms of government of Greece and Rome, so it is prepared to welcome whatever progress mankind may make, whether it be material or moral or intellectual; nay, that it is prepared to co-operate, without misgivings or afterthought, in whatever promises to make for higher and holier life. Why turn regretful eyes to some buried century, which, if we knew it better, we should esteem less? The best things lie before, not behind us.

Out of nothingness the race, like the individual, has come forth and our way leads toward infinity—from God to God—this is the best we know. Knowledge grows, power increases, freedom is enlarged, good will spreads to wider circles. Has faith ceased to be a virtue, hope a source of courage, love the fountain of life, that we should linger amid ruins and funeral monuments, weeping for the things which are no more? He who wrought with diviner efficacy than all the apostles, heeded not what was gone, but moved toward the future with a heart which knew neither doubt nor fear. Let the dead past lie in peace with its dead; we are the children of light and life. Increasing knowledge will doubtless lead to changes of which we scarcely dream; but in the meantime wisdom demands that each use what insight and power is given him to educate himself and to help others. We ask not whether one lives in an enlightened or a barbarous age; but whether he is a true and noble man; not whether he dwells in a great city or in a desert, but whether the world of his consciousness is wide, beautiful and high. Wherever we are, however surrounded and attended, we cannot live except in our minds and hearts. If all is well there, the rest need give us little concern. Let us learn to trust the Power by which we live, and to place less reliance on what is adventitious. They who are too much defended and protected, whether by the Church or the State or the school or the home, never acquire the courage and skill to defend and protect themselves.

The university student reaps the special fruit which such education should bear only when he acquires the philosophic mind, whose attributes, Newman says, are freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation and wisdom. "If any man," says Bacon, "thinks philosophy and universality to be idle studies he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the profession of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage." In the university the student finds men who really know what they are supposed to know, whose knowledge is derived from original sources and habitual self-activity, and who while they

teach continue to drink at these fountain heads. They themselves keep growing, and therefore they have the power to stimulate growth in others. Not all, indeed, possibly not many are such men; but if there be one or two they will become known and be followed; for the larger liberty granted in universities tends to bring the seekers after wisdom under the influence of the best masters; since students, more than others it may be, have a horror of bores, and will, if this be at all possible, flee the halls where they set up their melancholy chairs.

If university students live and die commonplace men or worse, they never were in a true university or they never should have been in any. At the best the school can but stimulate and guide in the work of mental and moral discipline. The decisive thing for each one, if there be any special significance and value in his life, is not what he is taught, but what he teaches himself. The business of education is "to strengthen man with his own mind," and this each one must learn to do for himself. But the young are little able to abstract for themselves, and if they are to walk in the light of true ideals they must be proposed to them in concrete form in the home, in the school, in the Church and in the State. The feebler their reason the greater their readiness to follow examples. Hence the all-importance of character in the parent, the teacher, the priest and the ruler. Nothing is so delightful and bracing as the company of the wise and magnanimous. They create a climate in which the soul prospers, in which it is easy and natural to think great thoughts and form high resolves, in which youthful minds, as Plato says, seize on knowledge so readily that they seem to have come from a previous life and to be picking up again what they had known, not learning something new. Is it credible that influences which remain associated with dullness, monotony, fatigue and fear should be perennial sources of joy and strength? Things will never improve so long as teachers take up their daily task, not in the spirit of sowers and reapers, who sing in the pleasant air, but in that of hirelings, who must work or starve.

Where the young are rightly taught books and teachers suggest glad thoughts. We tell them that their school days

are the happiest, and it is our fault that they find it impossible to believe us. The world composes its countenance to the expression assumed by the king, and since great men are rare and are not to be found in many places, therefore must there be a centre, a university where they may lead their lives and set up their chairs of high and contagious wisdom; where, separating themselves from the noise and tumult of current events, they may acquire an enlargement of view, a depth and elevation of thought which will give them power to mould and fashion hearts and minds; where they may be surrounded by the privileged few, who crave knowledge as the eye light, not chiefly with a view to its use, but because it is essential to the perfection of man's nature, in whom this craving, slowly gathering force, deepens into a passion and urges them ceaselessly onward, as saints are drawn by the ideal of holiness, as the purest souls are attracted to God, and who therefore stand forth from the multitude whose mental curiosity is soon satisfied and becomes a merely mechanical habit. The teacher is worth what the man is worth.

Great teachers make great schools. Socrates is the first university man. He is followed by Plato, who is succeeded by Aristotle, and they are still the masters of those who think, for they pursued and taught philosophy as a theory of knowledge and life, and there is and has been no great school in which this study is not carried on in their spirit. Alexander the Great, the pupil of Aristotle, in founding a city at the mouth of the Nile, established there, about three hundred years before the birth of Christ, the first university with a distinctive form and organization, and it soon attracted the most eminent scholars and became a centre of inspiration and light for nearly a thousand years for the studious youth of the civilized world, among whom were some of the most famous of the Christian doctors. When we think of Athens, Rome, Alexandria, Paris, Oxford and Koenigsberg we think of the great, wise and laborious men whose names are forever associated with them, men whose religious, moral, intellectual and esthetic genius has illumined, ennobled and strengthened the race to which they belong. These centres whence has radiated so much of the best we know and love never lose their interest,

because the lives of genuine and enlightened men can never cease to charm and help. What divine purposes does not a real centre of the highest intellectual and moral life serve? If we are to have good primary and secondary schools, good academies and colleges, we must first have genuine universities.

Progress spreads from the summits as the sun gilds the mountain tops, before its light floods the plain. It is in the university that the science and art of education, its history and methods are studied to best advantage. It creates a demand for more thorough preparatory training. It keeps up a succession of scholars devoted to the pursuit of philosophy and literature. It is not its business to supply legal, medical and clerical practitioners. The professions, in one way or another, take care of themselves. Its function is higher. It encourages those especially who pursue the study of the arts and sciences for the pure love of knowledge. Whether or not it fit a man to achieve what is called success, it will fit him to live wisely and well, like a gentleman and a scholar. In the university are taught the same things which are taught elsewhere, but there they are taught in a purer atmosphere, in a more liberal and disinterested spirit, in the midst of a body of men who represent the whole cycle of knowledge, who are themselves learners as well as teachers, whose enthusiastic and unselfish devotion to culture, religion and morality, keeps them young, hopeful and vigorous, making their presence magnetic and their words vital.

Thus it forms spiritual leaders—those who give direction to the thoughts and deeds of the many—men whose minds have been trained and disciplined by studies which have no direct practical end, who take delight in intellectual exercise for its own sake, though their knowledge should have no other value than the enlargement of view it gives them; who deem their gain sufficient if they have learned to think and love great thoughts instead of little thoughts, who having made themselves a home in their own breasts, feel that palaces and the society of the fairest are poor and paltry in comparison with the worlds they find there; who clearly perceiving that essential unity of religion, philosophy and science is a postulate of reason, hold fast to this root-principle, and move for-

ward, undisturbed by doubts, denials and controversies which but waste strength. In the middle ages, it was the universities of which Rome was the kindly and genial nurse, that roused Europe to a sense of its need of greater freedom and wider knowledge. Had it not been for them little intellectual progress would have been made. In our own country had we harkened to those who were never weary of asserting that the time had not yet come to found a Catholic university, we should still be standing on the river bank, like the rustic of whom Horace speaks, waiting for the waters to run by. The waters will flow on forever and forever, and they alone who have the courage and skill to swim or bridge the stream, take possession of the promised land of a richer life. To expect that the lower schools should rise to greater efficiency and thoroughness when they lack the example and inspiration of a university is to show one's self ignorant of the most important educational lesson which history teaches.

Whatever may be thought of the moral and religious progress or regress of America, there can be no doubt that our institutions of higher learning have now for more than a quarter of a century been making rapid advances.

All that zeal, ability and exhaustless financial resources can accomplish is being done in every part of the country to found, maintain and improve universities; and the work is destined to proceed with increasing power and speed. It has the approval of public opinion, it is supported by the State, and it enlists the generous, almost lavish, coöperation of men of wealth. It is a protest in favor of the higher life, in the presence of the materialism and greed which threaten to overwhelm us. We feel that to be satisfied with what ministers chiefly to physical needs and comforts is to be superficial and vulgar. A noble nature yearns and strives ceaselessly for the things that feed the mind, the heart and the conscience. We have come to understand that education in the true and large sense of the word is our one means of improving men, and that it is a delusion to imagine that a reform which is not based on education can be either deep or lasting. The church which is not also a school exerts no vital influence. What is external is

perishable. The source of life is within, and the stronger, the purer, the more conscious of itself it becomes, the more is the soul filled with immortal hopes and loves.

This is the root-idea of progress, of the progress which enters as an essential element into our conception of life, of the progress which is the soul's effort to realize itself. It begins, indeed, with the environment; for they who have no thought of improving their material surroundings, rarely have a desire for intellectual and moral advancement. Material progress enables us first to provide for our physical existence, for health and comfort and length of days, but its proper human value consists in its power to minister to spiritual uses. Mere animals can do something for their physical well-being, but man alone is able to think and to act in obedience to eternal laws of rightness. Where there is justice, morality, liberty and good will there is civilization; and where these virtues are found in the greatest perfection, there is the highest civilization. Knowledge is power as money is power; but it is power for good only when it belongs to rightly-trained minds and worthy characters. The weak, the superficial and the incompetent are easily overburdened with knowledge, as the foolish, the prodigal and the sensual sink beneath a weight of gold; and they who hope to obtain good results by cramming the memory are as blind as parents who think it enough to make their children rich. A strong and flexible mind is better than much knowledge, a brave and loving soul than mountains of gold.

It is the radical fault of our education that instead of cherishing and developing that which constitutes man's proper worth, it is busy with imparting information about many things which are but feebly related to true human life. Human greatness depends almost wholly on moral energy. The mind does not illumine the depths in which the heart lives. Reason cannot explain love; it cannot explain religion which alone builds love's temple. For this cause mere intellectual culture is superficial, a refinement or a gloss, while religion is the power within which lies at the root of life and transforms the world. Philosophers, like anatomists, dissect what is dead, while souls, alive with faith, move forward to do and

suffer. They ask not for arguments, for they are certain of themselves. But they are mightiest in whom the power of religion is blended and interfused with the power of culture. They are great and luminous personalities, and personality is the highest fact we know. By personalities religion and culture are created and by them they are preserved and propagated. In the great work the great person is always present as the great factor.

If ever and anywhere men of exceptional intellectual and moral strength were needed, they are needed by American Catholics, thrown as a minority, burdened with many disadvantages, into the midst of the eager, self-confident and all prevailing democracy of the New World. Here the Church lives and acts in virtue of its own power, neither having nor desiring the support of the State, content to lack the privileges which in other ages resulted from social conditions unlike our own. We could not have these privileges if we would, and could we have them they would hurt, not help us. It is enough that we have the rights which in a free country belong to all alike—freedom to teach, to publish, to organize, to worship. Liberty has, indeed, its inconveniences, its dangers even, but the atmosphere it creates is the native air of generous, fair and noble souls; and where it is not, man's proper good and honor are not found.

God, says St. Anselm, loves nothing so much as the freedom of His Church. In America it is free, free in the only way in which it is now possible for it to be free anywhere, free in the midst of the general liberty of a free people. To lament that we are fallen on evil days would show lack of knowledge, lack of faith. Things have never been right in this world. God made it, not we. Let us take it as it is and do the best we can. Is it not much that here and now, the people whom Christ loved, are better fed, clothed, housed and taught, more thought of and cared for than they have ever been since time began? Shall we complain because here the priest is respected only when the man is worthy? Shall we murmur because here the word of God issuing from minds and hearts that are alive and faithful penetrates more surely and reaches farther than

the splendor and pomp of ceremonial worship? Shall we regret the vanished power of prince, bishops and abbots, who were feudal lords? Is it an evil that if the rich and high-placed are drawn to the Church, they are not drawn by the hope of temporal gain?

Is it a grievance that here it is impossible that arbitrary and adulterous emperors and kings in exchange for a protection of doubtful efficacy, should inflict upon us their oppressive laws and disgraceful lives?

Shall we lose courage because we are thrown back on the inner sources of life, whence alone spring joy and strength? We are a minority, and what lesson shall we thence derive but that we are thereby pledged to devote ourselves with all the more zeal to the cultivation of knowledge and virtue and to the practice of good works? The majority, Plato says, are wicked. If the multitude belong not to us, there is all the more reason why those who are ours should be pure, sober, honest and wise. Not by boasting of the great things the Church has done, but by becoming true men and doing something worthy ourselves shall we best commend and show forth the faith by which we live. Liberty is a boon, the source of the highest good, but it is also a burden, heavy with the weight of responsibility, on which depends man's temporal and eternal welfare; for the free must upbuild their being and bind themselves to the service of God and of men, or the keen air they breathe will intoxicate and drive them to mad excess. "Remember not former things," says Isaiah, "and look not on things of old." Here are we, here is our world, here is our work. We are always in the centre of a universe and whatever we do, whatever happens to us, is great, if we but know how to make use of it. If we would labor for the future we must labor in and for the present. Unless we are inspired by the spirit of the age and country in which we live, how shall men know or love us? If we are not at home in our own time and fatherland, in the midst of what God makes us alive to see and do, when and where shall we find a home?

If we occupy ourselves with what is dead our vital power shall grow less; if with what is weak and unhealthy, we shall become morbid and ineffectual. Let us be busy with life where

it is strong, wholesome and fair. If our religion bring us courage, joy and peace, we shall not rail at the faults of men, but shall rather strive from a happy and loving heart to lead them toward the light. Least of all shall we contend and wrangle among ourselves. The words which a bitter and harsh zeal inspires are from the devil and drive men to him. Spiritual gifts can never be communicated mechanically. He who does not bear them in his own mind and heart cannot make them live in the minds and hearts of others. To believe otherwise is superstition—a superstition which is the bane of true religion. Disputes of theologians, like all quarrels, interest mainly the participants; others, they annoy or scandalize. They spring less from the love of truth than from the narrow and unsympathetic temper which is often found in the professional mind and which has wrought infinite evil in the world. Medicine, law and theology when followed simply with a view to practice are not liberal studies—they rather restrict the mental horizon and subdue the mind to what it works in, unless it first be rendered supple, open and luminous by philosophy, which is liberal knowledge, a gentleman's knowledge, and a chief scope of university teaching.

Genuine devotion to philosophy, religion or culture is rarely found in envious and contentious spirits. Disputes please the ignorant and the prejudiced; and they who are least concerned for man's highest good are readiest to wrangle about trifles. The air the true student breathes is pure and serene,—the thoughts with which he lives have permanent value and they are interfused with mild and kindly sentiments. His view is large and he is tolerant of the little things which irritate the vulgar. He knows that truth does not reveal itself in the storm of controversy, which settles nothing. He cares not for place or popularity, and, therefore, has not the disposition which makes jealousies and rivalries possible. His clearer vision of the past gives him a greater and more real view of the present. In the dim and sober light of dead empires and civilizations fallen to decay he sees how vain are most of the things which we permit to disturb our peace. He knows that doubts and difficulties are best overcome by doing and suffering, not by arguing and faultfinding. And he understands how easily

they who accustom themselves to a circle of narrow thoughts and loves come to think it profane to see God everywhere, and settle in their microcosm, believing it to be His Universe. He will not disturb them, for so it is for them. He is aware also that the worst egotism is not individual, but corporate, that those who as individuals are kindly or even generous, lose conscience and grow hard and unrelenting when there is question of their party or their clique ; and that thus what is called patriotism or what is called religious zeal, has led men to commit the most atrocious crimes. His prayer is that of Isaias : "Only let peace and truth be in my days." "Let others wrangle," says St. Augustine, "I will wonder."

The true student drawn by a disinterested curiosity and admiration, occupies himself with the great problems of philosophy, as the highest means of intellectual culture. No other discipline gives such distinction to the mind or so reveals the soul to itself when it is taught and studied in a free and noble spirit. What is it but the art of thinking applied deliberately to the questions which most profoundly interest man, and which each one, if he is to rise above the level of vulgar opinion, must solve for himself as best he may. It is the most human of all efforts, the effort of man to know himself, to get insight into the mystery of being and life, of spirit and matter, of time and eternity, of God and the soul ; and though one should hold that such effort can never attain its object, it must be admitted that it is a noble mental exercise and the source of pure and enduring delight. It is easy as it is popular to speak of metaphysics as empty and sterile studies; but it is easy also to be shallow and crude in one's views ; and if there be any sphere where the opinions of the many have little weight, it is that of pure thought. But those who decry philosophy, like those who decry religion, labor to no purpose, for so long as men continue to think, philosophy will interest them, and so long as they continue to believe, hope and love, they will turn to God.

Philosophy certainly, like religion, may be a pretense merely ; but for those who enter the inner sanctuary it is wisdom and strength and joy. Nothing else emancipates so effectually from the tyranny of fact or guides so securely across

the treacherous sea of theory. It educates the spiritual even more than the intellectual man; and this is the basis of individual character, which is itself a chief support of humanity. Faith gives direction to our aims and aspirations, hope strengthens and upholds the will, love expands our whole being by making the not-ourselves ours, while philosophy holds the lamp which illumines our pathway through the universal labyrinth. Its soft and equal light shines in the pure regions where the soul delights to essay its wings; where it breathes an ethereal air which gives it steadiness of purpose and enduring power; where it learns to feel how slight a thing is fame itself compared with the vision of the eternal, with the knowledge that wisdom is truth, that truth is love, that love is God. Philosophy leads us into the company of "great thoughts, grave thoughts, thoughts lasting to the end," where we hear the words of the first world teacher, exhorting us to take part in the great combat, which is the combat of life and greater than every other earthly conflict. If we are to be freed from ignorance and sin, our deliverance must be wrought from within. Not so much our circumstances as ourselves must be changed. As soft beds and every kind of delicacy fail to make comfortable those who are ill, because the source within has become sluggish and its waters bitter, so nothing external can make us free and joyful if we are prisoners of our own base passions. Without philosophy in a word, even the most learned men have but a kind of encyclopedic ignorance, for if it bind not the whole, it is all chaos.

Whatever scope we may assign to university teaching, whether with Newman we call it liberal knowledge, or with Virchow, general scientific and moral culture, together with the mastery of one special department,—whatever the scope, a true and living philosophy is its first and most essential means of discipline. Where this is lacking there is no university. It is this that lays right the deep infinite foundations of religious faith; it is this that points out the absolute need of moral culture and conduct; it is this that shows how every talent may be developed and every susceptibility satisfied; it is this that assigns a place to every advanced science; it is this that teaches us to welcome men of exceptional gifts whatever

their calling or their work; and unless we know how to welcome our greatest men, to give them opportunity and encouragement, to enable them to put their abilities to right uses, we are barbarous or decadent. The earth is fit home for a race of much higher average moral and intellectual power than the human has ever attained; and if we are to gain wider life and reach higher planes; if, when degeneracy comes, as it comes to all, we are to leave an eternal memorial of ourselves, we must learn to love and follow the wisest, the best, and the mightiest. In the light and guidance of individual minds of exceptional insight and strength the slow crowd must grope its way to higher things or not rise at all. Whether or not universities shall be ultimately able to maintain their freedom under a democratic social system is a problem. As civilization becomes more complex, the means of oppression and tyranny increase; and if the multitude are permitted to degenerate, their jealousy and hatred of superiority will become intensified.

Sparta and republican Rome became strong by sacrificing philosophy, art and literature to the requirements of a merely practical and civic education. And this, it would seem, is the tendency also of the social democracy. It is a false and downward tendency. Individual man does not exist for institutions—they exist for him; and the practical side of life is valuable only so far as it ministers to the spiritual. As the possession of a world could not bless one who is ignoble in himself, neither could it give worth and distinction to a nation whose citizens are ignorant, base and venal. This is the teaching of Christ, and it is this teaching which has made the alliance of Christianity with philosophy inevitable, even as the doctrine of the brotherhood of the race has led to that of the equal rights of all, and thus to the rule of the people. "But, however, vox populi vox Dei, has prevailed as a maxim," says Locke; "yet I do not remember wherever God delivered His oracles by the multitude or Nature truths by the herd." When the world is rightly governed it is not governed by the many, but by the wisest and the best. The genius, the hero and the saint cannot, indeed, be explained by the schools in which they have been taught, but a true school is none the

less our most effectual means of forming true men. Self-made men are poorly made. The higher and the holier the cause the higher and holier should the leaders be.

Here in America we Catholics have a two-fold work to perform, and higher or holier task God never entrusted to human agents. We have to upbuild and firmly establish in this New World of universal opportunity, feverish energies and tumultuous passions, the Church which has been handed down to us through the centuries, and which sprang from the mind and heart of Christ, uttering himself on the cross; and we have to do our part in purifying, uplifting and civilizing the masses to which we belong, and who if they are to be and to remain capable of self-rule, must be taught by science, morality and religion to govern themselves. Knowledge alone will not suffice, and a merely philosophic morality has no significance or efficacy for the multitude. The moral dynamics of a people lie in its religion. Society rests on conscience, not on science. "Religious education," says Balzac, "is the great principle of the life of society, the only means of diminishing the total of evil and of augmenting the total of good in human life. Thought, the foundation of all good and of all evil, cannot be disciplined, controlled and directed except by religion, and the only possible religion is Christianity, which created the modern world and will preserve it."

The Catholic view of education is the result of genuine insight into man's true nature, which is sacred and Godlike. To educate him merely with a view to his ease, comfort, enjoyment and dominion over material things is to take him out of the divine element in which he belongs. Do we not all recognize that to quicken the wits and leave the conscience untouched is not education?

Is not the most vital question which Americans can ask themselves, this—How to make our schools centres of moral influence? Can we not see ominous signs of degeneracy in the greed which everywhere is eating away the public conscience, in the universal craving for indulgence and luxury, in the dying out of the sense of honor and of the sacredness of the oath, in the loosening of the marriage tie, in the loss of obedience and reverence in children, in the worship of success,

in the exaggerated confidence in the power of machinery, in the turning of the theater into a forecourt of the temple of Astarte, in the popularity of coarse mockers for whom nothing is holy, who are little else than intellectual malefactors? Is there not need of making our schools centres of moral influence, all the more urgent because most of the churches seem to be drifting away from the eternally vital truth into mere sensationalism? How shall we make the school a centre of moral influence? The answer is not difficult. Morality, like culture, like religion, is propagated, not evolved. The devout communicate the spirit of piety, as the luminous mind rouses those on whom its light falls. Character builds character. Which are the virtues that make man worthy and strong? Are they not truthfulness, sincerity, reverence, honesty, obedience, chastity, patience, mildness, industry, politeness, sobriety, reasonableness, perseverance? Who, then, can propagate these virtues? They in whom they are living powers—they and they alone.

National regeneration is not possible without moral regeneration, moral regeneration can be wrought only through a right education of the whole man and the whole people, and this can be given only by men and women who live in the mind, in the heart, in the conscience, whose souls are filled with light and suffused with love; who have made it impossible for themselves to take pleasure in any amusement or occupation whatever unless they can in some way make it contribute to their own improvement and so to the common good. The first thought in every true university is to mould and fashion men, and only in so far as they are a means to this end do refinement, polish, taste and learning become an aim and ideal. Style and form and various knowledge are important, but they are vital only when they help to express the truth known and loved by ardent souls, inspired by genuine enthusiasm and a great purpose.

To have right principles is an excellent thing, but the worth of a school can be known only through results. Education, like medicine, is largely a matter of experiment. Our schemes and theories are vain, unless they stand the test of application. Are schools religious if they do not make men

religious? Are they educational if they do not make men moral? Is universal instruction a good if it weakens faith in the eternal principles which underlie right human life?

That we might have one centre where our educational principles should be put to the test under the most favorable conditions this University was founded; that we might make it plain to ourselves that the patience, the self-denial, the unworldly temper, the persevering industry, which alone can mould great scholars and intellectual leaders, are still to be found among us, at least in a few; and that these few should become for us who are thrown into the cares, distractions and businesses of the world, as beacon lights to the storm-tossed sailor, as well-springs to thirsty travelers through arid plains, as the voices of valiant captains to their soldiers amid the clash of arms and the roar of battle; that when men tell us that our religion deprives us of mental freedom and of the power to pursue science in a disinterested spirit, we might, instead of having recourse to speculative arguments which are ineffectual, or of going back to past ages, which is not to the point, simply say, behold our great school, and the clear, searching light that is there turned on whatever most interests the human mind; that we, too, we the children of centuries of oppression and poverty, might now stand forth in the front ranks of thinkers and lovers of their fellows, to help illumine this great turbulent democracy and guide it along the uncertain ways, to fairer, wider, purer life; and that we might thus show that there is in our Catholic faith a power of self-renovation, that its vital principle has not been exhausted by the struggles of ages, but that it is destined some day to become the inner and organizing force of society, and will then reveal itself to the whole world in all the depth of its truth and in all the wealth of its blessings—for all this and much more the Catholic University of America was founded.

It came into existence in the midst of doubts, misgivings and oppositions of various kinds. Its earliest history is one of difficulties and trials. Never before had American Catholics undertaken a work whose significance and influence should be as far-extending as the country itself. Diocese after diocese had been organized; churches and schools, asylums and hos-

pitals had been built at a thousand points; a numerous body of devoted priests and religious men and women had been formed, and the most seemed to be willing to rest content with this expansion and growth in numbers. But to some at least it was manifest that if this vast and rapid development of the Church in the midst of the greatest democracy that has ever existed was not to end in decay or confusion, it was imperative that we should establish here a common centre of the highest spiritual life; intellectual, moral and religious, where men of exceptional gifts might receive an exceptional culture; for such men are urgently needed everywhere as heads of our dioceses, seminaries, colleges and parishes. In positions of authority weak and ignorant men do greater harm than men who are wanting in virtue. The worst ruin both in the Church and in the State had been wrought by those whose intentions were good, but whom a narrow and unsympathetic temper, a weak and vacillating purpose and an unenlightened zeal blinded and misled.

In a society like ours where there is little reverence, little respect for anything save power, whether it be power of money or power of mind, it is not enough that the priesthood be blameless. The painfulness of the preaching will distract attention from the holiness of the life. If we are to draw and hold public interest we must be able to do more than appeal to the authority of the Church and the Bible; we must know how to speak to the God in each man's bosom. Like every true teacher, the priest, though he is not expected to say all that he knows, must survey the whole field of knowledge and be at home in every department of learning; for only they who know the whole can take up a subject with a master's skill and follow it in all its bearings, certain, at each moment of their position. "Ignorance," says Benedict XIV, the most learned of the popes, "ignorance is the fountain-head of all evils," and when it is found in a priesthood it is always associated with inner decay, with indolence, indifference and self-indulgence.

No laborer leads a life of such intense and unremitting toil as a real student. A voice cries out to him ceaselessly that he

must renounce. Do without, do without; this is its one message, for it is only by turning away from the hundred things men seek that it is possible to strengthen and temper the mind so that it shall be able to give itself wholly to truth. He is not a degenerate, he is one in whom life's current is rising, for in him the love of knowledge and virtue overcomes the love of ease and pleasure.

To give examples of such a life, to train a chosen few in this high and severe discipline, who shall then scatter throughout the land, as bearers of light and contagious enthusiasm—for this the Catholic University was founded. Quality and power of life, not numbers, is the aim—"holding himself to be a fortunate and a great king, not because he ruled over many, but over the best." That she may show her faith in this high enterprise and become a sharer in the spiritual good which here diffuses itself, Notre Dame opens this college today.

She comes, bringing with her the strong heart, the tireless energy, the dauntless spirit of the West. She comes not unknown or unattended, but bearing with her a noble name honorably won by long and faithful services to the cause of education; she comes, proclaiming by the enduring monument which she has here built, that when there is question of uplifting a higher standard of religious, moral and intellectual life in America it is possible to put away all lesser considerations, to forget differences of place and race, to rise into spheres where petty rancors and jealousies disappear as noxious vapors melt away when the sun from the mountain tops looks forth on God's glorious world. She comes to declare that here we shall have not only a Catholic University, but a school of schools, a mother of universities, a centre around which our teaching orders shall gather to drink wisdom and to learn to know and love one another in the serene air of delightful studies, to breathe which is to grow tolerant, fair, reasonable and mild.

Not all at once may this come to pass. As an original writer has to create the taste by which he is appreciated, so a true university may diffuse the light whereby its high and holy uses are revealed. Already much has been accomplished. In

our teaching brotherhoods and sisterhoods a new spirit has manifested itself, fresh eagerness to learn, a more self-sacrificing zeal, a more joyful confidence in the absolute rightness of the cause to which they have given their lives; the heads of our colleges have come together and agreed to meet annually for the purpose of interchanging views and of reaching conclusions for the advancement of our schools. They are no longer content to accept mechanically the traditional pedagogical theories and methods; but they will have the light of the mind play on them and will adopt those which reason and experience most approve.

Here, too, under the shadow of the University, Trinity College is even now rising, a monumental witness to our faith in the right of woman to upbuild her being to its full stature, to learn whatever may be known, to do whatever right thing she may find herself able to do. Those who stand with averted faces, looking ever backward to Europe, do not impress us. What sacredness is there in Europe more than in America? Is not the history of Europe largely a history of wars, tyrannies, oppressions, massacres and persecutions? Has not its lust for gold made it a scourge to all the inferior races of the earth? Have not its people long stood face to face, arms in hand, ready to butcher one another? Why should Europe be an object of awe or admiration for Catholics? Half its population has revolted from the Church, and in the so-called Catholic nations, which are largely governed by atheists, what vital manifestation of religious life and power can we behold?

In any case we are in America, not in Europe, and to stand in the midst of this vast, advancing world, with averted faces looking backward, is to sink out of sight and be forever lost as a living force. What country ever had fortune like ours? Where else has there ever been such opportunity for all? Where else has the Catholic Church ever had a wider or a freer field? Does not our Lord say, speaking to His apostles, "They who are not against you are for you?" Now, the vast multitude of those outside the Church here are not against us, and are therefore for us. If we fail the fault is in ourselves, in our timidity, in our indolence, in our lack of faith. What is there to make us afraid or despondent?

All the sciences prove and glorify God. All progress serves the cause of true religion. In immovable confidence in this principle, taking new courage from the happy omen of this day, let us bless the eternal Father that we are here to work for the Church and for America by doing what men can do to create a university which shall irradiate light and love, be a centre of union and peace and a nursery of the higher life.[1]

JOHN LANCASTER SPALDING.

[1] Discourse delivered at the Dedication of Holy Cross College, Catholic University, October 13, 1899.

LEO XIII. ON ECCLESIASTICAL STUDIES.[a]

To Our Venerable Brothers the Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy of France.

Venerable Brothers, Dearly Beloved Sons: Since the day we were raised to the Pontifical Chair France has been ever the object to us of a special solicitude and affection. For from her God, in the unfathomable designs of His mercy over the world, has in the course of ages by preference chosen Apostolic men destined to preach the true faith to the limits of the globe, and to carry the light of the Gospel to the nations yet plunged in the darkness of paganism. He predestined her to be the defender of His Church and the instrument of His great works: *Gesta Dei per Francos.*

Obviously this high mission entails duties many and grave. Wishing, like our predecessors, to see France faithfully fulfill the glorious mandate wherewith she has been entrusted, we have on several occasions during our long pontificate addressed to her our advice, our encouragement, our exhortations. This we did in a special way in our Encyclical Letter of February 8, 1884, *Nobilissima Gallorum Gens*, and in our letter of February 16, 1892, published in French and beginning with the words: "*Au milieu des sollicitudes.*" Our words were not without fruit, and we know from you, Venerable Brothers, that a large portion of the French people ever holds in honor the faith of their ancestors and faithfully observes the obligations it imposes. On the other hand, it could not escape us that the enemies of this holy faith have not been idle and have succeeded in banishing every religious principle from a large number of families, which, in consequence, live in lamentable ignorance of revealed truth, and in complete indifference to all that concerns their spiritual interests and the salvation of their souls.

While therefore with good reason we congratulate France on being a focus of apostolic work among nations destitute of the faith, we are also bound to encourage the efforts of those of her sons who, enrolled in the priesthood of Jesus Christ, are laboring to evangelize their own people, to preserve them from the invasion of naturalism and incredulity, with their fatal and inevitable consequences. Called by the will of God to be the saver of the world, priests must always, and above all things,

[a] The New York *Freeman's Journal*, October 7 and 14, 1899.

remember that they are by the very institution of Jesus Christ, "the salt of the earth,"[1] and hence St. Paul, writing to Timothy, justly concluded that "by their charity, their faith and their purity, they must be an example to the faithful in their words and in their relations with their neighbors."[2]

That such is true of the French clergy, taken as a whole, has always been a great consolation to us to learn, Venerable Brothers, from the quadrennial reports you send us concerning the state of your dioceses, conformably to the Constitution of Sixtus V., and from the oral communications we receive from you whenever we have the happiness of conversing with you and receiving your confidences. Yes, dignity of life, ardor of faith, a spirit of devotedness and sacrifice, a zeal characterized by enthusiasm and generosity, an inexhaustible charity toward their neighbor, energy in all noble and fruitful enterprises making for the glory of God, the salvation of souls and the welfare of their country—these are the precious qualities traditional among the French clergy, and we are happy to be able here to render to them a public and fatherly testimony.

Still, precisely on account of the deep and tender affection we have for them, and at the same time to perform a duty of our Apostolic ministry and respond to the keen desire we feel to see them ever acting up to their great mission, we have resolved, Venerable Brothers, to treat in this letter of certain points to which present circumstances peremptorily call the conscientious attention of the chief pastors of the French Church and of the priests who work under their jurisdiction.

And in the first place it is clear that the more important, complex and difficult an office is the longer and more careful should be the preparation undergone by those who are called to fill it. But is there on earth a dignity higher than that of the priesthood or a ministry imposing a heavier responsibility than that whose object is the sanctification of all the free acts of man? Is it not of the government of souls that the Fathers have rightly said that it is "the art of arts;" that is, the most important and most delicate of all tasks to which a man may be applied for the benefit of his kind?—"*Ars artium regimen animarum?*"[3] Nothing must then be neglected to prepare those whom a divine vocation calls to this mission in order that they may fulfill it worthily and fruitfully.

To begin with, from among the young those are to be selected in whom the Most High has sown the seeds of a vocation. We are aware that, thanks to your wise recommendations, in many dioceses of France the priests of the different parishes, especially in country districts, apply themselves with a zeal and self-sacrifice which we cannot sufficiently

praise in guiding themselves the studies of children in whom they have observed a marked tendency to piety and an aptitude for intellectual work. The presbyteral schools are thus the first step, as it were, of the stairs which from the junior to the senior seminaries carry up to the priesthood those young men to whom the Saviour repeats the appeal He addressed to Peter and Andrew, to John and James, "Leave your nets; follow Me, I will make you fishers of men."[4]

With regard to the junior seminary, this very valuable institution has been frequently and justly compared to the beds in which are set apart such plants as call for the most particular and assiduous care as the only way to make them bear fruit and produce a recompense for the labors of their cultivation. On this subject, we renew the recommendation addressed by our predecessor, Pius IX., to the Bishops in his Encyclical of December 8, 1849. This is itself based on one of the most important decisions of the Fathers of the Council of Trent. To France belongs the glory of having held it in most account during the present century, for of the ninety-four dioceses in the country there is not one which is not endowed with one or more junior seminaries.

We know, Venerable Brothers, the solicitude which you bestow on these institutions so justly dear to your pastoral zeal, and we congratulate you on it. The priests who labor, under your superintendence, for the formation of the youth called to enroll itself later on in the ranks of the sacerdotal army, cannot too often meditate before God on the exceptional importance of the mission with which you entrust them. They have not simply to instruct their children in the elements of letters and human science, like the general run of masters—that is the least part of their task. Their attention, zeal and devotion must be ever on the watch and active, in order, on the one hand, to study continually, under the eye and in the light of God, the souls of the children and the indications of their vocation to the service of the altar, and, on the other, to help the inexperience and feebleness of their young disciples in order to protect the precious grace of the Divine call against all deadly influences, both from without and from within. They have therefore to exercise a ministry that is humble, laborious and delicate, and requires constant abnegation. To sustain their courage in the fulfillment of their duties, they will take care to temper it in the purest sources of the spirit of faith. They must never lose sight of the fact that the children whose intelligence, heart and character they are engaged in forming are not being prepared for earthly functions, however legitimate or honorable. The Church confides those children to them in order that they may one day be fit to become priests; that is to say, missionaries of the Gospel, continuers of the work of Jesus Christ, distributers of His Grace and His Sacraments. Let this purely supernatural consideration incessantly

imbue their double function as professors and educators, and be the leaven, so to say, which is to be mixed with the best flour, according to the Gospel parable, so as to transform it into sweet and substantial bread.[5]

And as an abiding thoughtfulness for the first and indispensable formation of the spirit and virtues of the priesthood should inspire the masters of your junior seminaries in their relations with their pupils, so, too, the system of study and the whole economy of discipline must be allied to this same primary and directing idea. We are not unaware, Venerable Brothers, that you are to a certain extent obliged to reckon with the State programme and with the conditions imposed by it for obtaining university degrees, owing to the fact that in certain cases such degrees are required of priests engaged in the management of free colleges under the patronage of the Bishops and religious congregations, or in the higher teaching of the Catholic faculties which you have so laudably established. It is, moreover, of sovereign importance for the maintenance of the influence of the clergy on society that they count among their ranks a sufficient number of priests yielding nothing in science, of which degrees are the official evidence, to the masters whom the State trains for its lyceums and universities.

Nevertheless, after making all the allowances imposed by circumstances for this exigency of the State programme, the studies of aspirants to the priesthood must remain faithful to the traditional methods of past ages. It is these which have produced the eminent men of whom France is so justly proud—the Petaus, Thomassins, Mabillons and many others, to say nothing of your Bossuet, called the Eagle of Meaux, because in loftiness of thought and nobility of expression his genius soars in the highest regions of Christian science and eloquence. The study of belles lettres rendered mighty aid in making these men valiant and useful workers in the service of the Church and capable of writing works which were truly worthy to pass down to posterity, and which contribute even to-day to the defense and propagation of revealed truth. For the belles lettres have the property, when taught by skillful Christian masters, of rapidly developing in the souls of young men all the germs of intellectual and moral life, whilst at the same time contributing accuracy and broadness to the judgment and elegance and distinction to expression.

This consideration assumes special importance when applied to Greek and Latin literature, the depositaries of those masterpieces of sacred science which the Church with good reason counts among her most precious treasures. Half a century ago, at that period (all too brief!) of true liberty, during which the bishops of France were free to meet and concert such measures as they deemed best calculated to further the

progress of religion, and, at the same time, most profitable to the public peace, several of your Provincial Councils, Venerable Brothers, recommended in the most express terms the culture of the Latin tongue and literature. Even then your colleges deplored the fact that the knowledge of Latin in your country tended to diminish.[6]

But if the methods of pedagogy in vogue in the State establishments have been for several years past progressively reducing the study of Latin and suppressing the exercises in prose and poetry which our fathers justly considered should hold a large place in college classes, the junior seminaries must put themselves on their guard against these innovations, inspired by utilitarian motives and working to the detriment of the solid formation of the mind. To the ancient methods so often justified by their results we would freely apply the words of St. Paul to his disciple Timothy, and with the apostle we would say to you, Venerable Brothers, "Guard the deposit"[7] with jealous care. If it should be destined—which God forbid!—one day to disappear from the other public schools, let your junior seminaries and free colleges keep it with an intelligent and patriotic solicitude. Doing so, you will be imitating the priests of Jerusalem, who, saving the sacred fire of the temple from the barbarian invader, so hid it as to be able to find it again and restore it to its splendor when the evil day should have passed.[8]

Once in possession of the Latin tongue—the key, so to say, of sacred science—and their mental faculties sufficiently developed by the study of the belles lettres, young men destined for the priesthood pass from the junior to the senior seminary. There they will prepare themselves by piety and the exercise of the priestly virtues for the reception of Holy Orders, while devoting themselves to the study of philosophy and theology.

In our Encyclical "*Aeterni Patris*," which we once again recommend to the attentive perusal of your seminarists and their masters, we declared, with St. Paul as our authority, that it is by the empty subtleties of false philosophy "*per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam*"[9] that the minds of the faithful are most frequently led astray and the purity of the faith corrupted among men, we added, and the events of the last twenty years have furnished bitter confirmation of the reflections and apprehensions we expressed at the time. If one notes the critical condition of the times in which we live and ponders on the state of affairs in public and private life he will have no difficulty in seeing that the cause of the evils which oppress us, as well as those which menace, lies in the fact that erroneous opinions on all subjects, human and divine, have gradually percolated from philosophical schools through all ranks of society, and have come to be accepted by a large number of minds.[10]

We renew our condemnation of those teachings of philosophy which have merely the name, and which by striking at the very foundation of human knowledge lead logically to universal skepticism and to irreligion. We are profoundly grieved to learn that for some years past some Catholics have felt at liberty to follow in the wake of a philosophy which under the specious pretext of freeing human reason from all preconceived ideas and from all illusions, denies it the right of affirming anything beyond its own operations, thus sacrificing to a radical subjectivism all the certainties which traditional metaphysics, consecrated by the authority of the strongest thinkers, laid down as the necessary and unshakable foundations for the demonstration of the existence of God, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, and the objective reality of the exterior world. It is to be deeply regretted that this doctrinal skepticism, of foreign importation and Protestant origin, should have been received with so much favor in a country so justly celebrated for its love of clearness of thought and expression. We know, Venerable Brothers, how far you share our well-grounded anxiety on this subject, and we reckon on you to redouble your solicitude and vigilance in shutting out this fallacious and dangerous philosophy from the teaching in your seminaries, and to honor more than ever the methods we recommended in the above-quoted Encyclical of August 4, 1879.

In our times the students in your junior and senior seminaries can less than ever afford to be strangers to the study of physical and natural science. To it, therefore, they must apply themselves—but in due measure and in wise proportions. It is by no means necessary that in the scientific course annexed to the study of philosophy the professors should feel themselves obliged to expound in detail the almost innumerable applications of physical and natural sciences in the different branches of human industry. It is enough that their pupils have an accurate knowledge of the main principles and summary conclusions, so as to be able to solve the objections which infidels draw from these sciences against the teachings of Revelation.

It is of capital importance that the students of your senior seminaries should study, for at least two years, with great care, "rational" philosophy, which, as the learned Benedictine, Mabillon, the glory of his order and of France, used to say, will be of the greatest assistance to them, not only in teaching them how to reason well and arrive at right conclusions, but in putting them in a position to defend the orthodox faith against the captious and often sophistical arguments of adversaries.[11]

Next come the sacred sciences, properly so called—Dogmatic and Moral Theology, Sacred Scripture, Church History and Canon Law. These are the sciences proper to the priest—in them he receives a first

initiation during his sojourn in the senior seminary, but he must pursue his studies in them throughout the remainder of his life.

Theology is the science of the things of faith. It is nourished, Pope Sixtus V. tells us, at those ever-willing springs—the Holy Scriptures, the decisions of the Popes, the decrees of the Councils.[12]

Called positive and speculative or scholastic, according to the method followed in studying it, theology does not confine itself to proposing the truths which are to be believed; it scrutinizes their inmost depths, shows their relations with human reason, and, aided by the resources which true philosophy supplies, explains, develops and adapts them accurately to all the needs of the defense and propagation of the faith. Like Beseleel, to whom the Lord gave His spirit of wisdom, intelligence and knowledge, when intrusting him with the mission of building His temple, the theologian "cuts the precious stones of divine dogma, assorts them skilfully, and, by the setting he gives them, brings out their brilliancy, charm and beauty."[13]

Rightly, then, does the same Sixtus V. call theology (and here he is referring especially to scholastic theology) a gift from heaven, and ask that it be maintained in the schools and cultivated with great ardor, as being abundant in fruitfulness for the Church.[14]

Is it necessary to add that the book par excellence in which students may with most profit study scholastic theology is the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas? It is our wish, therefore, that professors be sure to explain to all their pupils its method, as well as the principal articles relating to Catholic faith.

We recommend equally that all seminarists have in their hands, and frequently peruse, that golden book known as the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or Roman Catechism, dedicated to all priests invested with the pastoral office (Catechismus ad Parochos). Noted both for the abundance and accuracy of its teaching and for elegance of style, this catechism is a precious summary of the whole of theology, dogmatic and moral. The priest who knows it thoroughly has always at his disposal resources which will enable him to preach with fruit, to acquit himself fitly in the important ministry of the confessional and the direction of souls, and be in a position to refute triumphantly the objections of unbelievers.

With regard to the study of the Holy Scriptures, we call your attention once more, Venerable Brothers, to the teachings we laid down in our Encyclical "*Providentissimus Deus*"[15], which we wish the professors to put before their disciples, with the necessary explanations. They will put them specially on their guard against the disturbing tendencies which it is sought to introduce into the interpretation of the Bible, and which

would shortly, were they to prevail, bring about the ruin of its inspiration and supernatural character. Under the specious pretext of depriving the adversaries of the revealed word of apparently irrefutable arguments against the authenticity and veracity of the Holy Books, some Catholic writers have thought it a clever idea to adopt those arguments for themselves. By these strange and perilous tactics they have worked to make a breach with their own hands in the walls of the city they were charged to defend. In our Encyclical above quoted, and in another document[16], we have spoken our mind on this rash, dangerous policy. While encouraging our exegetists to keep abreast with the progress of criticism, we have firmly maintained the principles which have been sanctioned in this matter by the traditional authority of the Fathers and Councils, and renewed in our own time by the Council of the Vatican.

The history of the Church is like a mirror, which reflects the life of the Church through the ages. It proves, better far than civil and profane history, the sovereign liberty of God and His providential action on the march of events. They who study it must never lose sight of the fact that it contains a body of dogmatic facts which none may call in question. That ruling, supernatural idea which presides over the destinies of the Church is at the same time the torch whose light illumines her history. Still, inasmuch as the Church, which continues among men the life of the Word Incarnate, is composed of a divine and a human element, this latter must be expounded by teachers and studied by disciples with great probity. "God has no need of our lies," as we are told in the Book of Job[17].

The Church historian will be all the better equipped to bring out her divine origin, superior as this is to all conceptions of a merely terrestrial and natural order, the more loyal he is in naught extenuating of the trials which the faults of her children, and at times even of her ministers, have brought upon the Spouse of Christ during the course of centuries. Studied in this way, the history of the Church constitutes by itself a magnificent and conclusive demonstration of the truth and divinity of Christianity.

Lastly, to finish the cycle of studies by which candidates for the priesthood should prepare themselves for their future ministry, mention must be made of Canon Law, or the science of the laws and jurisprudence of the Church. This science is connected by very close and logical ties with that of Theology, which it applies practically to all that concerns the government of the Church, the dispensation of holy things, the rights and duties of her ministers, the use of temporal goods which she needs for the accomplishment of her mission. "Without a knowledge of Canon Law (as the Fathers of one of your provincial councils

very well said), theology is imperfect, incomplete, like a man with only one arm. Ignorance of Canon Law has favored the birth and diffusion of numerous errors about the rights of the Roman Pontiffs and of Bishops, and about the powers which the Church derives from her own Constitution—powers whose exercise she adapts to circumstances." [18]

We shall sum up all we have just said concerning your junior and senior seminaries in this sentence of St. Paul, which we recommend to the frequent meditation of the masters and pupils of your ecclesiastical athenæums: "O Timothy, carefully guard the deposit which has been confided to you. Fly the profane novelties of words and objections which cover themselves with the false names of science, for all they who have made profession of them have erred in the faith." [19]

And now we have a word to say to you, dearly-beloved sons, who have been ordained priests and become the coöperators of your Bishops. We know, and the whole world knows with us, the qualities which distinguish you. There is no good work of which you are not the inspiration or the apostles. Docile to the counsels we gave you in the Encyclical "*Rerum Novarum*," you go to the people, to the workers, to the poor. You endeavor by all means in your power to help them, raise them in the moral scale, render their lot less hard. To this end you form reunions and congresses; you establish homes, clubs, rural banks, aid and employment offices for the toilers. You labor to introduce reforms into economic and social life, and in the difficult enterprise you do not hesitate to make serious sacrifices of time and money; and with the same scope you write books and articles in the newspapers and reviews. All these are, in themselves, highly praiseworthy, and in them you give no equivocal proofs of good will and of intelligent and generous devotedness to relieve the most pressing needs of contemporary society and of souls.

Still, beloved sons, we deem it our duty paternally to call your attention to some fundamental principles to which you will not fail to conform if you desire that your activity be really fruitful and reproductive.

Remember, above all, that zeal, to be profitable and praiseworthy, must be "accompanied by discretion, rectitude and purity." Thus does the grave and judicious Thomas à Kempis express himself.[20] Before him St. Bernard, the glory of your country in the twelfth century, that indefatigable apostle of all great causes touching the honor of God, the rights of the Church or the good of souls, did not fear to say that "zeal, separated from knowledge and from the spirit of discernment or discretion, is insupportable . . . that the more ardent zeal is, the more necessary is it that it be accompanied by that discretion which puts order into the exercise of charity and without which even virtue may be changed

into a defect and a principle of disorder."[21] And discretion in activity and in the choice of means of rendering activity successful is all the more indispensable from the fact that the present times are disturbed and environed with numerous difficulties. This or that act, measure or practice, suggested by zeal, while excellent in themselves, can only—owing to the circumstances of the race—produce bad results. Priests will avoid this inconvenience and this evil, if before and during their action they take care to conform to established order and the rules of discipline. And ecclesiastical discipline demands union among the different members of the hierarchy, and the respect and obedience of inferiors to their superiors. In our recent letter to the Archbishop of Tours we said the same thing: "The edifice of the Church of which God Himself is the architect, rests on a very visible foundation, primarily on the authority of Peter and his successors, but also on the Apostles and the successors of the Apostles, the Bishops, so that to hear their voice or to despise it is tantamount to hearing or despising Jesus Christ Himself."[22]

Listen, then, to the words addressed by St. Ignatius, the great martyr of Antioch, to the clergy of the primitive Church: "Let all obey their Bishops, as Jesus Christ obeyed His Father. In all things touching the sense of the Church do nothing without your Bishop, and as our Lord did nothing but in close union with His Father, so priests, do you nothing without your Bishop. Let all members of the priestly body be united, as all the strings of a harp are united in the instrument."[23]

Should you, on the contrary, act as priests independently of this submission to and union with your Bishops, we would repeat to you the words of our predecessor, Gregory XVI, viz., that "you utterly destroy as far as in you lies, the order established with a most wise forethought by God, the author of the Church."[24].

Remember, too, beloved sons, that the Church is rightly compared to an army in battle array "*sicut castrorum acies ordinata*,"[25] because it is her mission to combat the enemies, visible and invisible, of God and men's souls. Wherefore did St. Paul recommend Timothy to bear himself "as a good soldier of Jesus Christ?"[26]. Now, that which constitutes the strength of an army and contributes most to its victory is discipline and the exact and rigorous obedience of all toward those in command.

Just here zeal out of place and without discretion may easily become the cause of real disaster. Call to mind one of the most memorable facts of sacred history. Certainly neither courage, willingness, nor devotion to the sacred cause of religion were lacking in those priests who gathered round Judas Maccabeus, to fight with him against the enemies of the

true God, the profaners of the temple, the oppressors of their nation. And yet, releasing themselves from the rules of discipline, they rashly engaged in a combat in which they were vanquished. The Holy Spirit tells us of them "that they were not of the race of those who might save Israel." Why? Because they would obey only their own inspirations, and threw themselves forward without awaiting the orders of their leaders. "*In die illa ceciderunt sacerdotes in bello, dum volunt fortiter facere, dum sine consilio exeunt in praelium. Ipsi autem non erant de semine virorum illorum, per quos salus facta est in Israel.*"

On this point our enemies may serve us for an example. They are well aware that union is strength, "*vis unita fortior*," so they do not fail to unite close when it comes to attacking the holy Church of Jesus Christ.

If, then, you desire, as you certainly do, beloved sons, that in the formidable contest being waged against the Church by anti-Christian sects and by the city of the evil one, the victory be for God and His Church, it is absolutely necessary for you to fight all together in perfect order and discipline under the command of your hierarchical leaders. Pay no heed to those perniciou men who, though calling themselves Christians and Catholics, throw tares into the field of the Lord and sow division in His Church by attacking and often even calumniating the Bishops "established by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God."[28] Read neither their pamphlets nor their papers. No good priest should in any way lend authority either to their ideas or to their license of speech. Can he ever forget that on the day of his ordination he promised "*obedientiam et reverentiam*" to his Bishop before the holy altar?

Above all things, remember, beloved sons, that an indispensable condition of true zeal and the best pledge of success in the works to which hierarchical obedience consecrates you is purity and holiness of life. "Jesus began by practicing before preaching.[29] Like Him, the priest must preface preaching by word by preaching by example. "Separated from the world and its concerns (say the Fathers of the Council of Trent), clerics have been placed on a height where they are visible and the faithful look into their lives as into a mirror to know what they are to imitate. Hence clerics and all they whom God has called specially to His service should so regulate their actions and morals that there may be nothing in their deportment, manners, movements, words and in all the other details of their life which is not deeply impressed with religion. They must carefully avoid faults which, though trivial, in others would be very serious to them, in order that there be not a single one of their acts which does not inspire respect in all."[30] With these recommenda

tions of the sacred Council, which we would wish, beloved sons, to engrave in all your hearts, those priests who certainly fail to comply, who adopted in their preaching language out of harmony with the dignity of their priesthood and the sacredness of the word of God; who attended popular meetings where their presence could only excite the passions of the wicked and of the enemies of the Church, and who exposed themselves to the grossest insults without profit to any one, and to the astonishment, if not scandal, of the pious faithful; who assumed the habits, manners, conduct and spirit of laymen. Salt must certainly be mingled with the mass which it is to preserve from corruption, but it must at the same time defend itself against the mass under pain of losing all savor and becoming of no use except to be thrown out and trampled under foot.[31]

So, too, the priest who is the salt of the earth must in his necessary contact with the society by which he is surrounded, preserve modesty, gravity and holiness in manner, action and speech, and not allow himself to become infected with the levity, dissipation and vanity of the worldly. He must, on the contrary, in the midst of men, keep his soul so united with God that he lose nothing of the spirit of his holy state, and be not constrained to make before God and his conscience the sad and humiliating avowal: "I never go among laymen that I do not return less a priest."

Is it not because they have, with a zeal that is presumptive, set aside those traditional rules of discretion, modesty and prudence that certain priests consider as out of date and incompatible with "the present needs of the ministry those principles of discipline and conduct which they received from their masters in the senior seminary?" They are to be seen rushing, as if by instinct, into the most perilous innovations in speech, manners and associations. Several of them, alas! rashly putting themselves on the slippery incline from which they have no native power to escape, and despising the charitable warnings of their superiors and their older and more experienced colleagues, have ended in apostasies which rejoice the hearts of the adversaries of the Church and brought bitterest tears into the eyes of their Bishops, their brothers in the priesthood and the pious faithful. St. Augustine tells us: "When a man is out of the right way the more quickly and impetuously he advances, the more he errs." [32]

There are, of course, some changes which are advantageous and calculated to advance the kingdom of God in men's souls and in society. But, as the Holy Gospel tells us,[33] it is the province of the "Father of the household" and not of the children or servants to examine them, and, if he judges well, to give them currency side by side with the time-honored and venerable usages, which make up the rest of his treasury.

Lately when fulfilling the apostolic duty of putting the Catholics of North America on their guard against innovations, tending, among other things, to substitute for the principles of perfection consecrated by the teaching of doctors and the practice of saints moral maxims and rules of life more or less impregnated with that naturalism which nowadays endeavors to penetrate everywhere, we proclaimed aloud that far from repudiating and rejecting "*en bloc*" the progress accomplished in the present epoch, we were only too anxious to welcome all that goes to augment the patrimony of science or to give greater extension to public prosperity. But we took care to add that this progress could be of efficacious service to the good cause only when harmonized with the authority of the Church.[34]

As a conclusion to this letter we are pleased to apply to the clergy of France what we formerly wrote for the priests of our diocese of Perugia. We reproduce here a portion of the pastoral letter we addressed to them on July 19, 1866:

"We ask the ecclesiastics of our diocese to reflect seriously on their sublime obligations and on the difficult circumstances through which we are passing and to act in such wise that their conduct be in harmony with their duties and always conformable to the rules of an enlightened and prudent zeal. For thus even our enemies will seek in vain for motives of reproach and blame: *qui ex adverso est vereatur, nihil habens malum dicere de nobis.*[35]

"Although difficulties and dangers are every day multiplying, the pious and fervent priest must not for that be discouraged—he must not abandon his duties or even draw rein in the accomplishment of the spiritual mission he has received for the welfare and salvation of mankind and for the maintenance of that august religion of which he is herald and minister. For it is especially by difficulties and trials that his virtue becomes strong and stable; it is in the greatest misfortunes, in the midst of political transformations and social upheavals that the salutary and civilizing influence of his ministry shines forth with greatest brilliancy.

" . . . To come down to practice we find a teaching admirably adapted to the circumstances in the four maxims which the great Apostle St. Paul gave to his disciple Titus. In all things give good example by your works, your doctrine, the integrity of your life, by the gravity of your conduct, using none but holy and blameless language.[36] We would that each and every member of our clergy meditate on these maxims and conform his conduct thereto.

"*In omnibus teipsum praebe exemplum bonorum operum.* In all

things give an example of good works; that is, of an active and exemplary life, animated by a true spirit of charity and guided by the maxims of evangelical prudence—of a life of sacrifice and toil, consecrated to the welfare of your neighbors, not with earthly views or for a perishable reward, but with a supernatural object. Give an example by that language at once simple, noble and lofty, by that sound and blameless discourse which confounds all human opposition, calms the long standing hatred the world has sworn against you, and wins for you the respect and even esteem of the enemies of religion. Every one devoted to the service of the sanctuary has been at all times obliged to show himself a living model and perfect exemplar of all the virtues; but this obligation becomes all the more instant when, as a consequence of social upheavals, we are treading a difficult and uncertain path where we may at every step discover ambushes and pretexts of attack. . . .

"*In doctrina.* In the face of the combined efforts of incredulity and heresy to consummate the ruin of Catholic faith, it would be a real crime for the clergy to remain in a state of hesitancy and inactivity. In such an outpouring of error and conflict of opinion he must not prove faithless to his mission, which is to defend dogma assaulted, morality travestied and justice frequently outraged. It is for him to oppose himself as a barrier to the attacks of error and the deceits of heresy; to watch the tactics of the wicked who war on the faith and honor of this Catholic country; to unmask their plots and reveal their ambuscades; to warn the confiding, strengthen the timid and open the eyes of the blinded. Superficial erudition or merely common knowledge will not suffice for all this—there is need of study, solid, profound and continuous, in a word of a mass of doctrinal knowledge sufficient to cope with the subtlety and remarkable cunning of our modern opponents. . . .

"*In integritate.* No better proof of the importance of this council could be had than the sad evidence of what is going on around us. Do we not observe that the lax life of some ecclesiastics brings discredit and contempt on their ministry and proves the occasion of scandals? If men, endowed with minds as brilliant as they are remarkable, now and then desert the ranks of the sacred soldiery and rise in revolt against the Church—that mother who, in her tenderness and affection had advanced them to the direction and for the salvation of souls, their defection and wanderings have most frequently had their origin in want of discipline and evilness of life. . . .

"*In gravitate.* By gravity is to be understood that serious, judicious, tactful conduct which should be characteristic of every faithful and prudent minister chosen by God for the government of His family.

While thanking God for having vouchsafed to raise him to this honor, he must show himself faithful to all his obligations, and at the same time balanced and prudent in all his actions; he must not allow himself to be dominated by base passions, nor carried away by violent and exaggerated language; he must lovingly sympathize with the misfortunes and weaknesses of others; do all the good he can to every one, disinterestedly, unostentatiously, and maintaining ever intact the honor of his character and sublime dignity."

We return now to you, beloved sons in the French clergy, and we are firmly convinced that our perceptions and counsels, solely inspired as they are by our paternal affection, will be understood and received by you in the sense and bearing we wished to give them in addressing you this letter.

We expect much from you, because God has richly endowed you with all the gifts and qualities necessary for performing great and holy deeds for the advantage of the Church and society. We would that not one among you permit himself to be tarnished by those imperfections which dim the splendor of the sacerdotal character and injure its efficacy.

The present times are evil; the future is still more gloomy and menacing, and seems to herald the approach of a redoubtable crisis and social upheaval. It behooves us, then, as we have said on many occasions, to honor the salutary principles of religion, as well as those of justice, charity, respect and duty. It is for us to imbue men's souls with these principles—and especially those souls which have become captive to infidelity or disturbed by destroying passions, to bring about the reign of the grace and peace of our Divine Redeemer, Who is the Light and the Resurrection and the Life, and in Him to unite all men, notwithstanding the inevitable social distinctions which divide them.

Yes, now more than ever, is there need of the help and devotedness of exemplary priests, full of faith, discretion and zeal, who, taking inspiration from the gentleness and energy of Jesus Christ, Whose true ambassadors they are, "*pro Christo legatione fungimur*,"[37] to announce with a courageous and inexhaustible patience the eternal truths which are seldom fruitless of virtue in men's souls.

Their ministry will be laborious—oftentimes even painful, especially, in countries where the people are absorbed in worldly interests and live in forgetfulness of God and His holy religion. But the enlightened, charitable and unwearying influence of the priest fortified by Divine grace will work, as it has already worked prodigies of resurrection almost beyond belief.

With all our soul and with unspeakable joy we hail this consoling

vista, and meanwhile with all the affection of our heart we grant the Apostolic Benediction to you, venerable brothers, and to the clergy and people of France.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the 8th of September, in the year 1899, the twenty-second of our Pontificate.

LEO, PP. XIII.

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[1]Matt. v., 13. [2]I. Tim. iv., 12. [3]St. Greg. the Gr. Lib. Regulae Past, P. I., c. 1. [4]Matt. iv., 19. [5]Matt. xiii., 33. [6]Litt. Synod. Patrum Conc. Paris ad clericos et fideles an., 1849, in Collectio Lacensis Tom iv., col. 36. [6]I. Tim. vi., 20. [7]II. Mach. I., 19-22. [8]Col. III., 8. [9]Encyclical Aeterni Patris. [10]De Studiis Monasticis, Part II., c. 9. [11]Const Apost. Triumphantis Jerusalem. [12]St. Vinc. Lir. Commonit, c. 2. [13]Same Const. Apos. [14]18 November, 1893. [15]Letter to the Min. Gen. of the Fr. Minor, November 25, 1898. [16]Job xiii., 77. [17]Conc. Prov., Bitur a. 1868. [18]I. Tim., vi., 20-21. [19]Zelus Animarum laudandus est si sit discretus, rectus et purus. [20]St. Bern., Serm. XLIX., in Cant. n. 5. [21]Lett. ad Arch. Turon; [22]St. Ign. Ant.. Ep. ad Smyrna, 8; idem ad Magn., vii. [23]idem ad Ephes., iv. [24]Greg. xvi., Epist. Encycl. 15 Aug,. 1882. [25]Cant. vi, 3. [26]II Tim. ii., 3. [27]I Mach. v., 67, 62. [28]Act. xx, 28. [29]Act. i., 1. [30]S. Conc. Trid., Sess. xxii., de Ref., c., 1. [31]Matt. v., 13. [32]Enarr. in Ps., xxxi., n. 6. [33]Matt. xiii., 52. [34]Epist. ad S. R. E. Pr. Card. Gibbons, 22 Jan., 1899. [35]Tit. ii., 8. [36]Tit. ii, 7, 8. [37]II Cor, v. 20.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Fra Girolamo Savonarola: A biographical study based on contemporary documents, by Herbert Lucas, of the Society of Jesus. London: Sands & Co. 1899. 8°, pp. 474.

This work is substantially a reprint of the articles published last year in the *London Tablet*. In twenty-four chapters Father Lucas treats of the Florentine reformer from his birth to his tragic end. By skillful handling of texts, by succinctness and sobriety of judgments, the author has been enabled to present in less than five hundred pages the gist of all that is worth retaining out of the vast literature which has grown up about the figure of Fra Girolamo. Though the work was originally entered on apropos of the controversy between Pastor and Luotto, it soon outgrew these narrow limits, and henceforth holds its own as an independent retrospect of a great *fin de siècle*, those ten lurid years that mark the end of the Middle Ages and the Discovery of America, the triumph of the printer's art, and the consolidation of Islam at the very gate of Europe.

Whatever we may think of Burchard and Infessura, the contemporaries of Alexander VI, whose testimonies yet cause men to shudder; however anxious we may be to palliate or tone down other contemporary judgments, more or less grave and public,—it is henceforth beyond doubt that Rodrigo Borgia was an unworthy man, both before and after his election to the Holy See. Some bitter experience has compelled a broad interpretation of the thesis in those "Dictatus Papae" of 1075, often attributed to Gregory VII, concerning the personal virtue of the bishops of Rome,—a thesis borrowed from Ennodius of Pavia (473–521), and, after all, seldom found untrue.[1]

It is the personality of Alexander VI that lends to the life of Savonarola its undying interest,—this spectacle of a simoniacal and bad pope at war with his own conscience and with all the instincts of mediæval Catholicism incorporate in that preaching friar in the pulpit of Santa Maria del Fiore. Against the successor of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, the spirit of the "Fraticelli" was still vivid enough to raise a loud out-

[1] Ille (St. Peter) meritorum dotem cum hereditate misit ad posteros; quod illi concessum est pro actuum luce, ad illos pertinet quos par conversationis splendor illuminat. Quis enim sanctum esse dubitat, quem apex tantae dignitatis attollit; in quo si desint bona acquisita per meritum sufficiunt quae a loci decessore praestantur? Aut enim claros ad haec fastigia erigit, aut qui eriguntur illustrat. Praenoscit enim quid ecclesiarum fundamento sit habile, super quem ipsa moles innititur. Libellus Apologeticus pro Symmacho Papa. Migne, PL. LXIII, col. 188.

cry before the deluge of the Reformation. Obedient to the mystic voices and visions that filled the lonely cell in San Marco, this champion of a pure and unworldly Catholicism felt himself borne, as by a destiny, to measure his strength with the Vicar of Christ, and to revolt against the law in the name of all that the law was made to protect and encourage. That Alexander had purchased the papacy was notorious; and in the Middle Ages the relation of simony and heresy was equally notorious. Hence the persuasion of Savonarola that the Borgia pope was no pope, that the See of Peter was really vacant, that the Catholic powers should call a council to provide for the deposition of the intruder. He failed to see that the acceptance of Christendom had healed the defect of election, if substantial defect there were in a simoniacal election before the Bull *Cum tam divino* of Julius II (1505), of which document Father Lucas says that "it had its origin in the sad memory of the scandalous election of Alexander VI."

Christendom had but just escaped the cruel consequences of the Western schism; to call in question the validity of Alexander's title was equivalent to spiritual anarchy, to the partition of Italy and its domination by France, to the utter ruin of Christian unity, while the Crescent was still new in the sky of Europe. The abdication of Alexander, could it have been compassed, would, perhaps, have only inflamed the cupidities of those Della Rovere, Farnesi and Medici who ambitioned the "locus Petri," and have only created a worse confusion than followed the abdication of Celestine V. Nor could Savonarola have foreseen that the rise of Protestantism would make impossible such popes as he had known. "After all, even a pope has some rights of self-defence," says a writer in the *English Historical Review* (IV., 455), "and had Alexander overlooked the contumacy of the friar, the continuance of the Papacy would have been impossible."

There are supreme moments in the life of every society when only unquestioning obedience will hold its elements together. This juncture had been reached at the end of the fifteenth century, when paganism stood vested and mitred in the sanctuary, and the universal heresy stood at the door, ready to raise that shout of denial and defiance that has never since ceased to echo through the Christian world. Savonarola was a man specially sworn and broken to obedience; he should have been the last to rise against the Bishop of Rome, however unworthy; the principle of his rebellion, the special guidance of the Holy Spirit, the special revelation, has justified every heresy from the days of Montanus, as it was soon to justify the great German schism of his fellow-monk Luther.

If there be anything solid in the immemorial claims of the Roman See, it is that in critical times the "imperium" over Catholicism belongs

to it. Nor can the question of the moral worth of the actual pope be allowed to count any more than the moral worth of the priest was allowed to decide the validity of the sacrament.[1] Savonarola was not the only "fantastico" abroad in those decades. The Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian, was of opinion that himself ought to be made pope and canonized; thus would posterity have a right model of Caesaropapistic government.

One must maintain, with Pastor and Father Lucas, that Savonarola's refusal to obey the Pope disposes of the reality of his revelations, even as the sequence of events failed to support his claim to veridical prophecy.

The story of Savonarola shows that there are limits which the most irresponsible power may not safely cross; after the judgment of strict justice, which perhaps himself would not have refused to acknowledge, in view of his conduct toward Bernardo del Nero, and his own principle of *salus populi suprema lex*, the sympathy of the historian is entirely with that cowled figure in the white scapular, whose strong, bold features look out from canvas or fresco as though still warm with holy anger and flushed with righteous shame that the abomination of desolation should thrive with impunity beside the Tabernacle of Christ. So Raphael has painted him in the "Disputa;" so his many devoted friends and admirers, the Fra Placidos, the Fra Benedettos, the Vivolis and the Mirandolas, framed him in their memories during all those long years in which the mediæval liberties of Florence were being buried, with never a ringing protest from him who for one brief moment had roused the Christian sense of the whole city, had swept upward to a sublime pinnacle of love and forgiveness both "Piagnoni" and "Arrabiati," for one moment—sublime, impossible act!—had offered the mediæval Athens to "Jesus Christ, the King of the People of Florence," and had his offer ratified. "What gives to Savonarola's end," says our author, "that element of heroism which is lacking in the death of hundreds of other victims of prosecutions for treason, is the grandeur of his ultimate purpose, the willingness of the sacrifice which—in intention at least—he freely offered for its fulfillment, the firmness of his unshaken confidence in God alone; and, lastly, the record of a blameless life, spent in the self-denying service of his Creator and Redeemer, and of his fellow-man, which lay behind" (p. 369).

[1] Here again it may be well to cite the noteworthy utterance of Ennodius in re Pope Symmachus against Laurentius, rival claimant of the See: "Aliorum forte hominum causas Deus voluerit per homines terminare: sed istius (sedis) praesulem suo sine quaestione reservavit arbitrio. Voluit Beati Petri Apostoli successores coelo tantum debere innocentiam et subtilissimi discursoris indagini inviolatam exhibere conscientiam. Nolite aestimare eas animas de inquisitoribus non habere formidinem, quas Deus prae caetero suo reservavit examini." Elsewhere he makes St. Peter say: "Nolite Symmachum papam pressuris vestris juvare: si reus est, mihi credite, cum cessaverit humanae impugnationis ministerium, divinum mox succedit arbitrium." Op. cit. col. 200, 201.

It would be difficult to array in the same space more original authorities than has been done by Father Lucas. Many of them appear almost for the first time, at least in English, being drawn from numerous contemporary annals, chronicles and diaries that have been, partially or fully, published in Italy or Germany within the last few decades. In the volumes of the "Archivio Storico Italiano," since 1842, and in the compilations of Padre Marchese, Ranke, del Lungo, Lupi, and others, as well as in the life of Savonarola by Villari (1898), and in the selections from his sermons by Villari and Casanova, a multitude of original documents has been made known. They clarify greatly the details of the famous process, and bring before the eye of the reader the panorama of cinquecento Florence, with all its ideals, its waverings and sinkings, its play of manifold ambitions, its hydra-headed, unstable, ungrateful democracy, its proud, jealous and vindictive aristocracy, its culture and its unspeakable base treacheries, its mystic elevations and its depths of coarse sensualism. Here is a state in the throes of death,—a small state, if you will, but a carefully built one. In this great "dossier" one may see how the commonwealth perishes, shaken from within, undermined from without, corrupted and assailed from above, until "justice" and "liberty," as the Middle Ages knew them, as "Blacks" and "Whites," Guelfs and Ghibellines, "weepers" and "fanatics," fought for them, quitted forever, Astraea-like, the banks of the Arno and the land "dove il si suona." Her own citizens, both laymen and churchmen, destroyed the "stato" of the City of the Flower,—what the golden lilies of France could not do was done by domestic treachery and jealousy. Consciously or unconsciously, Savonarola was the last vigorous champion of the mediæval municipal state, with its intense local patriotism, its large play of strong individualism, its mystic religiosity in life, art, and science. The modern world was issuing from the laboring womb of Europe, even in his day. Such men and such ideals could only be anachronisms in the century of combat that was now opening, with Spain and France as chief jousters in the great game. Maximilian was the last of the "Ritters," the battle of Marignan the last of mediæval conflicts, Bayard the last flower of chivalry, King Francis the last gay knight of the world of romance. With Adrian VI. or St. Pius V, Savonarola might have won the aureola of sanctity; it might have been his lot to illustrate the Church of Italy, to

> "Touch it again with immortality;
> Give back the upward looking and the light;
> Rebuild in it the music and the dream;
> Make right the immemorial infamies,
> Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes."

As it was, his grandiose and truly Dantesque soul was fated to dwell in a dying world; to protest in antique and helpless imagery against robust, incoronate iniquity; to learn what a broken reed is the mob, when gold, comfort, and self-interest solicit it from the ideals of religion. Socrates in his prison, Helvidius Priscus and Thrasaea Paetus at the block, Boethius in his tower, Fra Girolamo at the stake, point forever the moral which that grim social philosopher, Tertullian, long since immortalized: *Plane veritas semper odio est.*

Culturzustaende des deutschen Volkes waehrend des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, zweites Buch, von Emil Michael, erste bis dritte Auflage. Herder: Freiburg, 1899. 8°, pp. xxi—438.[1]

We have already called attention in a previous number of the BULLETIN (Oct., 1897), to this important work. The second volume deals with the conditions of religion and morality in Germany during the thirteenth century, with the life of the diocesan and regular clergy, the conditions of preaching, faith and charity, and the development of education. The merits of this volume are not inferior to those of the first; it is a product of the school of Janssen, marked by extensive reading, conscientious collection of data, an exhibition of authorities almost finically obtrusive, and an orderly distribution of the mass of information collected from the most remote and unlikely sources. The author does not skim over the shadows of the period,—as a rule, his views are temperate and his language noble. Thus in the first two chapters on the condition of the diocesan and regular clergy in Germany he holds the balance with what seems to the writer a just and discriminating hand. The exhaustive bibliography is a welcome offering to the professional scholar. Many an excellent book of foreign make escapes his attention,—the best German works on this period, and from these view-points are here gathered. The list of original authorities consulted and of modern German works on the subject fills some thirteen pages. So many topics are treated in this volume that it would be misleading to call it in any sense exhaustive; it is rather an eloquent summary of our knowledge of social Germany in the age of the Hohenstaufen; as such it will reap the praises showered on Janssen and Pastor, and suffer from the adverse criticism that the same authors have met with. It is only fair, in conclusion, to call attention to the incredible patience and unremitting toil that such a work presupposes. In respect of iron industry and single devotion to their themes, the men of Janssen's school, like those of De Rossi, are truly Benedictine; let us add that for the same reasons

[1] The Culture of the German People in the Thirteenth Century. By Emil Michael. Vol. II, Religion and Morality, Education and Instruction.

shallowness and fanaticism are usually absent from their pages, so that even readers opposed to their conclusions must respect them as historians worthy to reach that future age which will see the final *Ausgleich* of all opinions.

The Catechism Explained.—From the original of Rev. Francis Spirago. Edited by Rev. Richard F. Clarke, S. J.; 1 vol., 8vo, pp. 720. Benziger Bros.: New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. Price, $2.50 net.

As the title-page indicates, this is an exhaustive exposition of the Christian religion, with special reference to the present state of society and the spirit of the age; as well as a practical manual for the use of the preacher, the catechist, the teacher and the family, made attractive and interesting by illustrations, comparisons and quotations from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and other writers.

It is divided into three parts. The first part treats of faith, the second of morals, the third of the means of grace. In the first part Our Lord appears in his character of Teacher; in the second in His character of King; and in the third in His character of High Priest. In the first part we are told what is to be done by the use of the understanding; we must seek to attain to the knowledge of God by believing the truths He reveals; in the second part we are told what is to be done by the aid of the will: we must submit our will to the will of God by keeping the Commandments; in the third part we are told what we must do in order to enlighten our understanding and strengthen our will, which have been respectively obscured and weakened by original sin; we must obtain the grace of the Holy Spirit by allowing ourselves to be properly disposed through the appointed means of grace.

This catechism, therefore, aims at cultivating, to an equal extent, all the three powers of the soul: the understanding, the affections and the will; and carries the attentive reader in an orderly manner through the coördinate system of Catholic belief and practice. It does not bewilder the reader with doctrinal debates, and is couched in plain and simple language, stript of all technical terms too often met with in such manuals. It is further enlivened by a concrete style, made attractive by the interesting phrases and similes of many writers. It treats also of such live and actual topics as Cremation, Catholic Congresses, Socialism, Passion Plays, Civil Marriages and Confraternities, and explains the ceremonies of the Church.

This work is very earnestly commended to catechists and teachers. It should be found in the Catholic home, not as an ornament to a bookshelf, but as an object of daily reading and consideration. It is a mine

of clear, attractive and practical information on Faith, the Commandments, Good Works and the Means of Grace. It is an orderly and systematic presentation of what we must believe and will and do, and is well worthy of the attention of priests, catechists, and fathers of families, charged as all such are, in their respective ways, with the duty of Christian instruction.

Quite naturally, in a comprehensive work of this kind, the treatment of some of the topics is meagre and jejune. Yet this necessity of conciseness in nowise detracts from the worth of this book, which has, for its purpose, exposition rather than demonstration. It should be remarked, in closing, that this Catechism is not cast in the old form of question and answer, but in the more instructive one of statement and explanation.

External Religion: Its Use and Abuse: By George Tyrrell, S. J., author of "Hard Sayings," and "Nova et Vetera." London: Sands & Co.; St. Louis, Mo: B. Herder. Price, $1.

In exhortation, as in controversy, the charming originality and freshness of Father Tyrrell's work wins the reader at once. Here is an author who thinks to some purpose before attacking a question. We fancy it would be no easy matter to estimate the good done by his thoughtful, earnest, convincing presentation of Catholic ideals to the young Oxonians who attended these conferences in numbers proportionate to the speaker's reputation and ability. Viewing the Incarnation as the grand realization of God's plan to save the spirit through the flesh, to restore faith through sense, the author begins by a consideration of Catholicity as the actual embodiment of the Divine design, and therefore to be upheld against the assailants of formal religion.

But there is an error, equally, or more than equally fatal, which while maintaining the necessity of external religion, forgets that the latter is but the means to an end, and that the essential of religion is an adoration in spirit and in truth. It is to the criticism of this tendency that five of the eight conferences are devoted. It is in these that the writer's clear conceptions, brilliant style, and deep spiritual earnestness, most tellingly arraign that narrow-minded formalism which sucks the very life-blood from a religion well fitted in itself to lead souls to the kingdom of light, peace, and divine activity.

Would his indictment were not so true, but no man can gainsay it: "There are Catholic Christians who are satisfied with the knowledge that in the Church they have ready at hand a divinely-revealed standard of spiritual truth, and who imagine that Christianity consists in the profession and acknowledgment of this fact; forgetting that the Christ and

the Religion outside them is but a means to make up and develop the Christ and the Religion latent within them." And so they live quiet, unthinking, semi-passive lives, as though the grace of God were destined to excuse them from personal labor, instead rather of fitting them for greater tasks and heavier crosses.

Father Tyrrell's words are needed by not a few, both lay and clerical. His lofty ideas, his clear, forceful logical exposition, his thorough, comprehensive grasp of the basic principles of religious life, and finally his able, graceful, and luminous style render his latest volume what his others have been, precious additions to our small store of English spiritual books, capable of winning and uplifting earnest, cultured souls.

A Theory of Reality. George Trumbull Ladd. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. xv.+556.

Considering how often the epitaph of metaphysics has been written in these latter times, one turns with special interest, at least with curiosity, to a work which declares itself "an essay in metaphysical system upon the basis of human cognitive experience." On this same basis, Professor Ladd has already built his "Philosophy of Mind" and his "Philosophy of Knowledge." The former led up to the "larger problems of the philosophy of all existences;" the latter dealt with "the possibility, nature, and limits of man's knowledge as bearing on the problem of reality." The present volume unfolds the "detailed ontological doctrine of that very assumption with which the philosophy of knowledge found all human experience, both ordinary and scientific, to be penetrated." It purports, in other words, to show that "all things and all selves are virtually understood by the knower, man, to belong to, to be manifestations of, dependencies upon, the Absolute Self."

The central idea running through the "Theory of Reality" is this: All reality is to be conceived of after the analogy of the self-known Self. In our own conscious activity we discover the pattern which, projected beyond the Self, enables us to know the world as a whole and each particular being of the world. This, of course, we may call, or suffer to be called, anthropomorphism; at any rate, it is not agnosticism nor scepticism nor a hopeless lament over the impotency of reason. Metaphysics is severely critical—"but not of the faculty, or power, of cognition; it is critical rather of the actual results of cognition."

One such result, which the metaphysician has to face at the very outset of his investigation, is the distinction between phenomenon and actuality. This we must accept and understand aright. As applied to the world of external objects it is valid "on the assumption that it is

made after the analogy of the same distinction as applied to ourselves." *I* am the subject of my changing states; *things* are real subjects of those changing states which become phenomena to me. But what is meant when a thing is said to be *real?* Every single thing is an epitome of the universe, a concrete and harmonious unifying of all the categories. There is, moreover, in each thing, a *surplusage*, a point of attachment for the qualities we ascribe to it; and this is a case of self-activity similar to that which we feel in ourselves as will. This self-felt activity, which is also known to be inhibited, is the root from which the conception of *substance* springs forth. As all the changes in this activity conform to the idea of the Self, all processes of change and becoming in the world must conform to immanent ideas. The One Being in which all actual relations have their ground is "a living and unifying Intellect and Will." It is a Unity of Force that constantly realizes its own ideas in what we know as forms and laws. Its Life is the transcendental reality of Time, and its vital function is the arrangement in space of the different beings of the World; but the Life itself is the Life of Spirit.

Thus we are led to the final question: What is the relation between the World and God? If we say that God is the Absolute, we must not thereby understand that He is the absolutely Unrelated. God is the omniscient subject, things and their transactions are objects. His will is the ground of all causal action and influence; and all forms, laws and ideal ends are realizations of His ideas. Beyond this conception the Theory of Reality does not go: the higher spiritual characteristics of the Absolute Self must be gleaned from the study of Ethics, Aesthetics and the Philosophy of Religion.

The Reaction from Agnostic Science. By the Rev. W. J. Madden, author of "Disunion and Reunion." B. Herder: St. Louis, 1899.

This little volume is intended, we are told in the preface, as an appeal for religious reunion, addressed to those who have fallen victims to the widespread scepticism which has followed in the wake of Positivism. After alluding to the commanding position held, a few years ago, in the world of thought by the leaders of Agnosticism, the author points out some of the striking signs which indicate the present reaction. Agnosticism has been tried and found wanting. Deservedly so, for it has failed to offer any satisfactory theory of the moral life, or to answer the supreme question of human destiny. In proof, the author briefly repeats some of the arguments which have been developed with crushing force by Mr. Lilly, Mr. Mallock, and others. He sketches the disastrous history of two or three isolated attempts made to establish communities on the basis of agnostic socialism; and he contrasts these dismal failures with

the successful realization of true Christian socialism which is to be found in the religious orders of the Catholic Church. A brief review of the leading religions of the world is entered on, with a view to show that only in the Catholic Church is to be found that principle of unity and authority which affords rest and assurance to the weary seeker after truth.

Some of the more obvious sources of evil and dangers to believers abounding in modern society are pointed out, and means of coping with them suggested.

The author has entered upon a very wide field and touched upon many important questions. The purpose which he set before himself of writing a short book was incompatible with a systematic and comprehensive treatment of his subject. He has, however, presented to his readers many weighty and suggestive thoughts, expressed in a simple, direct, and forcible style. He has attained his object, which was to address to those who reject Christian dogma an appeal well calculated to bid them weigh the value of the conclusions of faith against the conclusions of unbelief.

Manual of Patrology, by the Rev. Bernard Schmid, O. S. B. Freely translated from the fifth German edition by a Benedictine. Revised, with notes and addition for English readers, by the Rt. Rev. Mgr. V. J. Schobel, D. D., with a preface by the Rt. Rev. J. H. Hedley, O. S. B., Bishop of Newport. B. Herder: St. Louis, 1899; 8°, pp. 351. $1.25 net.

This manual is based on Fessler-Jungman, and on the introductions to the editions of Migne. This means that it is reliable as far as doctrine and erudition go. After some preparatory chapters on the nature, authority, criticism, use and intelligence of the Fathers, the author treats, in four parts, of the origin, growth, fulness, and decline of the patristic literature, allotting in each section a separate treatment to the Greek and Latin writers. It is to be regretted that the patristic literature of the Orientals (Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic) receives no notice,—it is henceforth unscientific to exclude this Christian literature of the Orient from our study. Its texts are old and valuable, and within two generations incredible progress has been made in their decipherment and codification. Nor is anything said about the "Vitae Sanctorum," the "Acta Martyrum," and the juridical literature of the period before A. D. 700, at which time this manual closes the patristic epoch. In a broad sense, all this and more belongs to the early Christian literature; and it is time that some notions of the Christian activity along these lines be given to students of historical theology.

It is a pity that the translator or editor of this manual did not embody in the "literature" summaries the Catholic patristic articles,

often very valuable, contributed to the *Dublin Review*, the *Catholic World* and other magazines in the English tongue,—articles much more accessible than others, however valuable, in the "Quartalschrift" of Tübingen, or similar German periodicals. On pp. 65, 114, the "Ante-Nicene Library" is referred to; but (pp. 59–62) where its full title and character should have been made known, nothing is said of it. So, too, the useful translations of the Post-Nicene Fathers (in two series) published at Oxford and reprinted in this country by the Christian Literature Company, are ignored. The real actual deficiencies of the Migne collections (p. 61) are not referred to; the student ought to know not only that the typography is often defective, but that the texts themselves are not always the best, that new and better editions are constantly appearing. It is no longer true to say (p. 61) that the Greek Fathers in Migne are without an index; an alphabetical one has been published.[1]

The note on p. 62 is also incorrect. The Prussian government, or rather the Royal Prussian Academy, is re-editing not "the works of the Fathers and other early writers," but the works of the Greek Christian writers of the first three centuries.[2]

Among the patristic anthologies (p. 62) might well have been cited the excellent, accessible, and much-used work of Tricalet. It is curiously referred to (p. 22) as the work of "the priest Tricalet,' not the only example of cumbersome English in these pages.

It seems strange to publish a manual of patrology without giving a clearer account of the Lightfoot's noble edition of the Apostolic Fathers in five octavo volumes than is given on p. 65, or without explaining the contents and utility of Harnack's epoch-making volumes on the manuscript tradition and the chronology of early Christian literature. So, too, a word should have been said concerning the indispensable "Texte und Untersuchungen," and the similar Cambridge enterprise. It is conceivable that incipient theologians need to move with caution among non-Catholic publications in this province; but then it would have been well to signalize with an asterisk or otherwise the various non-Catholic articles cited in the "literature" appendixes. The very valuable, indispensable Dictionary of Christian Biography[1] is not mentioned among the "subsidia" of patrology. A general index of all the works used in the compilation of this manual, as well as the works cited, would aid

[1] Scholatios, *Ταμεῖον τῆς πατρολογίας*, Athens. vol. 1, 1883; also Dorothée, La clef de la patrologie grecque, Paris, 1879; cf. Möhler's Kirchengeschichte III, 28–30. On the Greek Fathers in the edition of Migne, see Hergenroether in Bonn. Theolog. Literatur blatt, 1867, pp. 337, 440–447.

[2] Die Grechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der dreisersten Christlichen Jahrhunderte. Hippolytus, I. Band, Leipzig, 1897; Origenes I., II. Band, ibid. 1899, J. C. Hinrichs, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter-Commission der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

greatly the reader, who might thus find with ease their full and exact titles. We cannot say that the typographical execution of the manual is perfect,—the paper is inferior and the binding too slight for a text-book. A freer use of bold-face type for paragraph-headings and the use of a small but clear type for the "editions and literature" would add greatly to the utility and appearance of the book.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(Mention under this rubric does not preclude further notice.)

Characteristics of the Early Church. By Rev. J. J. Burke. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1899. 8°, pp. 148.

The Friars in the Philippines. By Ambrose Coleman, O. P. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co., 1899. 8°, pp. 152.

What is Liberalism? Englished and Adapted from the Spanish of Dr. Don Felix Sarda y Salvany. By Condé B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D. B. Herder: St. Louis, 1899. 8°, pp. 176.

Kritische Bemerkungen zu meiner Ausgabe von Origenes' Exhortatio, Contra Celsum, De Oratione, von Dr. Paul Koetschau. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. 8°, pp. 82.

Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History. French Philosophers of the Eighteenth Century. Edited by Merrick Whitcomb, Ph. D. Published by the Department of History, University of Pennsylvania. Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 35; The X, Y, Z Letters. Edited by Herman V. Ames, Ph. D., and John Bach McMaster, L. H. D. Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 36, ibid. Philadelphia, 1899.

Jeanne d'Arc, L'Envoyée de Dieu, Panégyrique de la Vénérable prononcé dans la Basilique de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans, 8 Mai, 1899. Par S. G. Mgr. J. Ireland, Archevêque de Saint-Paul de Minnesota (Etats-Unis). 2ème edition. Imprimé par les soins de la Ville d'Orléans. Orléans: H. Herluison, 1899. 8°, pp. 36.

At Lake Monona: An Episode of the Summer School. By M. A. Navarette. Chicago: D. H. McBride & Co., 1899. 8°, pp. 156.

Birds and Books. By Walter Lecky. Boston: Angel Guardian Press, 1899. 8°. pp. 243.

Loyal Blue and Scarlet: A Story of '76. By Marion Ames Taggart. New York: Benziger, 1899. 8°, pp. 233.

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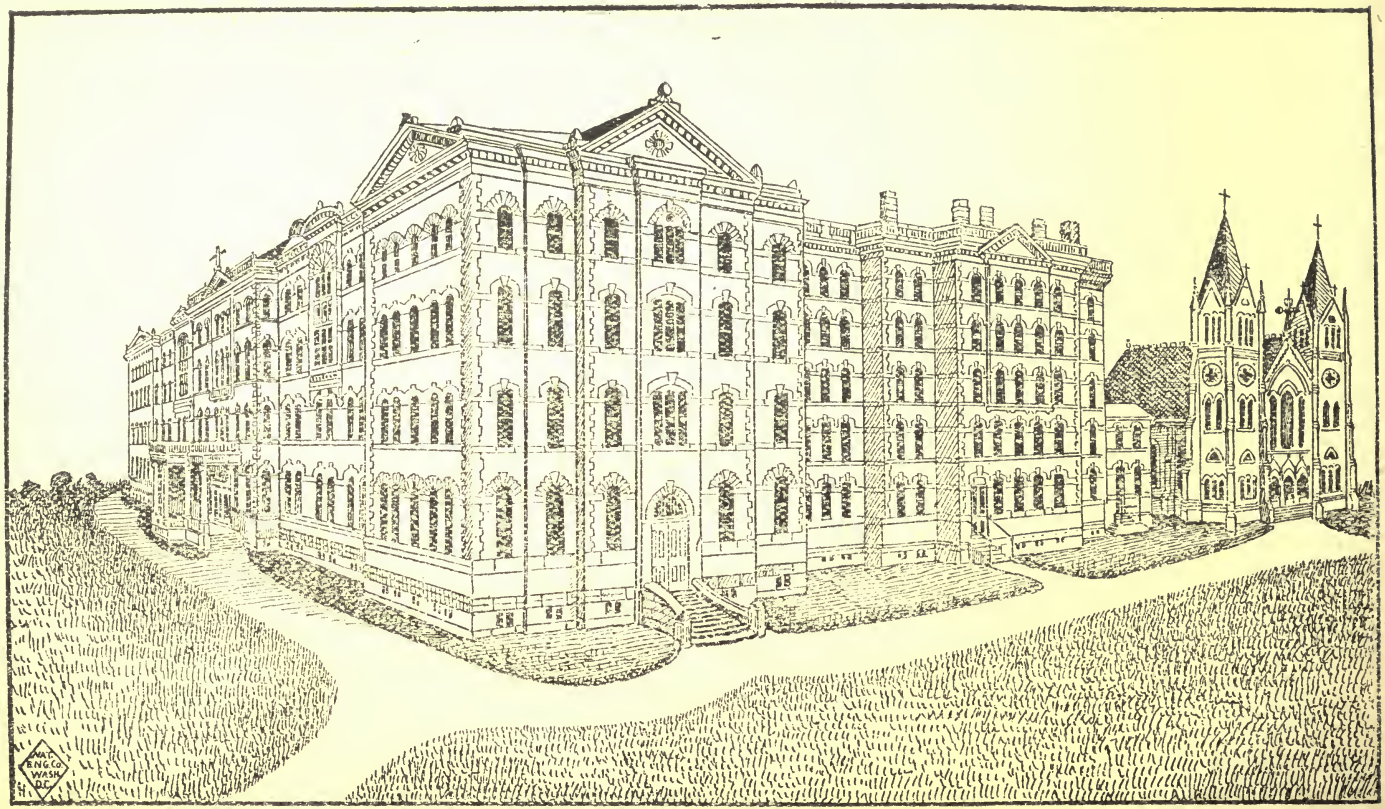
[1]Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines, 4 vols, 4°. London, 1877-1887. Edited by William Smith and Henry Wace.

DEDICATION OF THE FRANCISCAN COLLEGE.

On Sunday, September 17, the college and chapel of the Franciscan Fathers were solemnly dedicated. His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons performed the ceremony, and Archbishop Martinelli celebrated Mass. Rt. Rev. Bishop Blenk, of Porto Rico, Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Vice Rector of the University, Mgr. Sbaretti and Mgr. Stephan took part in the exercises. In the procession were the directors and students of the other institutions affiliated to the University, the Paulists, the Marists and the members of the Holy Cross College, followed by prominent representatives of the Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits. The sermon was delivered by Very Rev. L. F. Kearney, O. P., Provincial of the Dominican Order. After vespers, the blessing and raising of flags took place. Addresses were delivered by Hon. D. I. Murphy, Rev. E. A. Hannan and Mr. John J. Delaney. The arrangements for the dedication were entrusted to the Knights of Columbus, and the entire program was carried through in a manner highly creditable to this patriotic organization. "Mount St. Sepulchre," as the new home of the Franciscans is designated, stands on high ground to the east of the University. The property comprises forty acres, nearly all under cultivation. Since the completion of the building, much has been done towards improving and beautifying the grounds. "The College and Commissariat of the Holy Land" is the official title which indicates the purposes of the institution. The Order of St. Francis has given to the Church and to the cause of humanity noble examples of holiness and learning. Of such men there is need in every age. To perpetuate in a new land and a new time the splendid traditions of centuries is the object of the College which has been founded.



TRINITY COLLEGE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE PROGRESS OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

The main building of Trinity College as it will appear when completed, is shown in the accompanying cut. The church, the convent, and about one-third of the college section are now in course of erection. Since ground was broken, on June 21, additional land has been purchased, making in all twenty-seven acres in the college property. The grounds, which are rolling and heavily wooded, afford excellent sites for the location of buildings and can easily be adapted to purposes of exercise and recreation. The grading of Michigan Avenue, upon which the college faces, is progressing rapidly, and the extension of the City and Suburban electric railway will give a more direct route, along North Capitol Street, to the central portions of the city.

It is hoped that Trinity College will open its doors in October, 1900, for the higher education of women. Already the curriculum of studies is being drawn up, teachers are preparing themselves, and the needed helps and appliances for this new departure in the system of Catholic education, are being made ready. There is every reason to believe that the opening of Trinity College will respond to a wide and serious demand on the part of Catholic women for opportunities of mental improvement not inferior to such as are already enjoyed by their sisters who are not of our faith. The plan of the work is being executed with commendable alacrity, and when the first dignified granite buildings of Trinity are dedicated, it will seem to many that a long cherished and apparently hopeless dream has been realized; that a place in the sun has been secured for the women of those English-speaking races who emerge into Christian history, befriended and directed by women like Bertha and Hilda and Lioba, and all that noble band of females, whose good will, wealth, culture and coöperation were no despicable element of the success laid upto the credit of the Gregories, the Augustines, the Aidans, and the Cuthberts.

DEDICATION OF HOLY CROSS COLLEGE.

The new building of Holy Cross College was formally dedicated October 13. The exercises were opened in the Assembly Room of McMahon Hall by Rt. Rev. John L. Spalding with an address on "The University: the Nursery of the Higher Life." The archbishops and bishops who had just held their annual meeting, the faculties and students of the University, and a large concourse of the clergy and laity formed an appreciative audience. At the close of the address, the assemblage moved in procession to the College, which is located north of the University. Cardinal Gibbons, assisted by Father Franciscus, Rector of the College, and the seminarians of Holy Cross, performed the ceremony of dedication. A banquet was afterwards served in the dining room of the College, at which the Very Rev. Provincial, Dr. Zahm, entertained Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Martinelli, Archbishop Williams, Archbishop Ryan, Archbishop Riordan, Archbishop Corrigan, Archbishop Ireland, Archbishop Kain, Archbishop Keane, Archbishop Christie, Bishop Spalding, Bishop Maes, Bishop Horstmann, Mgr. Conaty, Mgr. Sbaretti, Mgr. McMahon, Mgr. Stephan, Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Very Rev. Father Guendling, Very Rev. Dr. Magnien, Rev. Dr. Rooker, Rev. John A. Gloyd, Rev. P. P. Klein, C. S. C., and Mr. A. O. Von Herbulis.

A cut of the building was published in the January number of the BULLETIN. Only the central portion has so far been erected. The original design calls for two wings, which will be added later on. The present structure, in its classical lines and commanding position, appears to advantage in the group of educational institutions gathered about the University. Its interior finish and appointments are admirably adapted to its purpose. Within less than a year since it was purchased, "Rosemont," as the property is called, has been transformed by energy, skill and taste, into a beautiful home of learning.

We reprint elsewhere the noble and magisterial discourse of the Bishop of Peoria. Seldom has the deeper philosophy of Christian education been expressed in more fitting language, or allied with worthier sentiments of humanity and patriotism.

To Very Rev. Dr. Zahm is particularly due the merit of inaugurating the work of Holy Cross College. His enlightened zeal and prudent foresight for the academic welfare of his students, his restless energy and enthusiasm, are the causes to which we owe this new monument of devotion to the ideals of Christian education.

NECROLOGY.

Rev. Paul P. Alyward, S. T. L.

Rev. Paul P. Aylward, S. T. L., died at Lourdes, France, August 14, 1899. Father Aylward was born in Milwaukee, Wis., September 28, 1869. His early education was received in St. John's parochial schools of that city. In 1885 he entered Marquette College, took the degrees of A. B. and A. M., and from 1890 to 1892 was professor in the college. His training for the priesthood was completed at St. Francis' Seminary, Milwaukee, and he was ordained June 16, 1895. He was matriculated at the University in October, 1895, and in June, 1898, he received the degree of Licentiate in Theology.

As a student, Father Aylward was earnest and thorough, unassuming in manner, yet eager to profit by every opportunity of advancing in knowledge, and so preparing himself more fully for his life-work. That his career should have been so brief is a matter of sincere regret to his instructors and to all who knew him at the University. Appreciated in the light of the high ideals which guided it and gave it significance, his life was full beyond the measure of years.

John Vinton Dahlgren, Esq.

John Vinton Dahlgren, Esq., died at Colorado Springs, August 11, 1899. He was born in Valparaiso, Chili, April 22, 1868. He studied at Georgetown College, from which he was graduated in 1899. After his marriage with Miss Elizabeth Drexel he engaged in business in New York City, where he resided until a short time before his death.

Mr. Dahlgren was fully in sympathy with the aims of the University and with its efforts to further the cause of Catholic education. In securing its interests he evinced, whenever opportunity offered, financial ability and zeal. For his ready co-operation and his generous aid in important transactions the University owes him a lasting debt of gratitude.

Rev. Joseph Thoma, LL. B.

Rev. Joseph Thoma, LL. B., died at Baltimore, April 21, 1899, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He received his early education at Louvain and Floreffe, Belgium. Previous to entering the University, he had been engaged in missionary work in the diocese of Nesqually. In 1896 he was matriculated in the School of Law, and pursued studies in law, politics and economics. These courses he followed assiduously until June, 1898, when failing health compelled him to abandon academic work.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

TENTH ANNUAL OPENING OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The tenth academic year of the University opened on Wednesday October 4. Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in the Divinity Chapel by the Rt. Rev. Rector, and was attended by the instructors and students of the various Faculties. At the end of the Mass the public Profession of Faith was made in accordance with the University constitutions. The formal opening of the courses took place in McMahon Hall, where the Rector delivered an address upon the aims and the character of University work.

During this first decade the growth of the University has been rapid and vigorous. The Faculties of Theology, Philosophy and Law have been organized. Fifteen chairs, two fellowships, and sixteen scholarships have been endowed. The Paulists, Marists, Fathers of the Holy Cross, and Franciscans, have affiliated with the University and erected college buildings, which, with Caldwell Hall, McMahon Hall, and Keane Hall, form a group of imposing structures. Ten years ago this section of the District of Columbia was little more than woodland and field.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees.—The annual meeting of the board of trustees was held at the University, on Wednesday, October 11. The different committees of the board, studies, finance and organizations, met at nine o'clock A. M. at Caldwell Hall and discussed the different parts of University work, in order to prepare their reports for the general meeting, which took place at 10 o'clock A. M. in the Senate room in McMahon Hall. Cardinal Gibbons, the Chancellor of the University, presided. There were present Most Rev. John J. Williams, D. D., Archbishop of Boston; Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, D. D., Archbishop of New York; Most Rev. P. J. Ryan, D. D., Archbishop of Philadelphia; Most Rev. P. W. Riordan, D. D., Archbishop of San Francisco; Most Rev. John Ireland, D. D., Archbishop of St. Paul; Most Rev. John J. Keane, D. D., Archbishop of Damascus; Right Rev. John L. Spalding, D. D., Bishop of Peoria; Right Rev. C. P. Maes, D. D., Bishop of Covington, Ky.; Right Rev. John S. Foley, D. D., Bishop of Detroit; Right Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, D. D., Bishop of Cleveland; Right Rev. John M. Farley, D. D., Auxiliary Bishop of New York; Right Rev. Mon-

signor Thomas J. Conaty, D. D., rector of the University; Mr. Thomas E. Waggaman, of Washington, treasurer of the University, and Mr. Michael Cudahy, of Chicago.

After the reading of the minutes of last meeting by the secretary, Bishop Horstmann, the report of the committee on studies and discipline was read by the chairman of the committee, Archbishop Corrigan, approving the present condition of studies and discipline in the University, and adopting the modifications proposed by the faculty of theology for the conditions requisite for the baccalaureate in theology.

The report of the committee on finance, of which Archbishop Williams is chairman, was read by the secretary of the committee, Bishop Maes. It reported that it found the financial accounts of the University in splendid condition, and recommended united action for the completion of the endowments necessary for the full development of the University.

The board adopted a recommendation that Cardinal Gibbons, in the name of the trustees, issue a letter to all the Bishops of the United States, commending to them the work of the University and recommending their co-operation with Archbishop Keane and the Rector of the University in the completion of the University endowments. A letter was read from Cardinal Rampolla to Archbishop Keane, in which were expressed the constant and deep interest of the Holy Father in the University and his earnest wishes for the success of Archbishop Keane's mission.

The Right Reverend Rector, Monsignor Conaty, reported that amounts aggregating to $162,800 had been pledged to the University. The chair endowments of $50,000 each promised by the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Knights of America were reported to the board, as also scholarships and bequests.

The report of the committee on organization, of which Archbishop Ryan is chairman, was read by the secretary of the committee, Bishop Farley. The principal report of this committee was concerning a new set of by-laws for the governing of the Board of Trustees.

The board took a recess at 12.30.

At the afternoon session the following officers were elected: President *ex-officio*, Cardinal Gibbons; vice-president, Archbishop Williams; secretary, Bishop Maes; treasurer, Mr. T. E. Waggaman; executive committee, Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishops Williams, Corrigan and Ryan, Dr. Conaty and Mr. Waggaman. The by-laws recommended by the committee on organization were adopted.

The meeting adjourned at 6.30, to meet the second Wednesday in October, 1900.

Archbishop Keane.—Most Rev. John J. Keane, D. D., returned to the United States a few days previous to the meeting of the Board of Trustees. He has taken up his residence in Caldwell Hall, and will make his home at the University while he is engaged in the work entrusted to him by the Board for the completion of the University endowment.

College of St. Thomas Aquinas.—During the past summer changes were made by the Paulist Fathers in the administration of the College. Rev. Walter Elliott, C. S. P., was appointed Superior and Master of Novices; Rev. George M. Searle, Professor of Moral Theology; Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., S. T. L., Professor of Dogmatic Theology; Rev. James J. Fox, D. D., Professor of Philosophy. Father McSorley received the degree of Licentiate in Theology at this University in 1897. Dr. Fox received his degree in June, 1899.

The college building has been renovated and enlarged. The central portion has been raised and extended, and a more convenient entrance has been provided. By these modifications ample room has been secured for the class-work and the religious exercises of the Community.

Bequest of Mr. Timothy Riordon.—Mr. Timothy Riordon, who died at Baltimore. July 17, 1899, left by will to the University the sum of $5,000 to found a theological scholarship for the archdiocese of Baltimore. After several other generous bequests to religious and charitable purposes he names as his residuary legatee the University. The admirable spirit which guided him in the distribution of his wealth is shown by the following statement with which his will is prefaced:

"Having disposed of what I wish to give my wife, my relatives and my connections, my intention is to give to the following institutions the respective sums named. God has prospered my undertakings, and I recognize the possession of wealth to be a sacred trust, and I wish first to give to the poor who are cared for by the holy religious who manage these institutions. They give their time, and I regard it as a special privilege to give my money to carry out their good work. That no one may question my right to make this disposition of my money I state the simple truth when I declare that my fortune is the outcome of a frugal and laborious life, and my pleasure is to place it where it will do the most good—firstly, to God's poor; secondly, to His suffering and afflicted ones in the hospitals, and, lastly, but not least, I desire to give liberally to the institutions of learning where young men are trained and educated for God's holy ministry. Knowing, as I do, that on them and their ministrations depend the very best interest of our moral and social life, I therefore, as God's almoner, will, devise and bequeath these several sums."

Rev. Dr. Hyvernat spent the summer vacation in studying the topography of Jerusalem, especially the walls of the city, and in visiting the province of Chesrowan. He also gave a course in Coptic language and literature at the École d'Études Bibliques, which is conducted by the Dominican Fathers in Jerusalem. A collection of coins and some five hundred specimens of the flora of Palestine, which he secured during his trip, will be placed in the Museum.

Rev. Dr. Kerby delivered a course of five lectures on Sociology, at the Catholic Summer School of America, during the second week of the session, July 17–21. His subjects were: The Parties to the Labor Question; The Rôle of the State; The Rôle of the Public; The Consumers' League; The Union Label.

In the July number of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Dr. Kerby published a study on "The Capitalist and His Point of View." It contains an analysis of the conditions which have produced the employer as distinct from the capitalist and a description of the process by which the point of view of the former is developed. The attitude of employers toward the issues raised by organized labor is described, and, in conclusion, attention is called to the personal and social influences by which employers are affected.

Dr. George M. Bolling, Associate Professor of Greek, spent the vacation months in Berlin and Munich, collecting manuscripts and obtaining materials for the *editio princeps* of the Pariçistas. These comprise seventy-two treatises upon different subjects connected wilh the ritualistic practices of the adherents of the Atharva Veda, and constitute one of the most important of the Vedic texts that yet remain unedited. Of these manuscripts, two have been loaned to Dr. Bolling through the kindness of Professor Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University. Two others belong to the Königliche Bibliothek of Berlin and one to the Hof-und Stadtbibliothek of Munich.

Dr. René de Saussure, Associate Professor of Mathematics, has withdrawn from the University. He was appointed in 1895, at the opening of the School of Philosophy. During the past four years, he engaged in various lines of research and contributed papers of value to the leading mathematical journals in this country and in Europe. His exceptional abilities and his thorough devotion to scientific work were fully appreciated by his colleagues. In the afflictions which more than once interrupted his labors, he met with the frankest sympathy. The death, in April last, of Mrs. de Saussure, obliged him to return to Switzerland, and the duties to his family, which have since devolved upon him, render it necessary for him to remain abroad. It is confidently hoped that he may be able to pursue his career with credit to himself and to the University, for which, in tendering his resignation, he expresses his feeling of loyal attachment.

The Marist College.—Work on the new college was begun in August The building, which is located on high ground north of the University, will be three stories high with a frontage of 170 feet, and two wings with a depth of 110 feet. The materials are brick, Indiana limestone,

and terra-cotta trimmings. The architect is Mr. L. Norris, and the builder Mr. J. S. Larcombe. The courses given at the college this year are: Moral Theology, by Rev. Dr. Sollier; Dogmatic Theology, by Rev. J. P. Cassagne; Apologetics, by Rev. R. Butin; Philosophy, by Rev. Charles Dubray.

Keane Hall.—The Governing Board for the ensuing year is composed of Rev. Dr. Kerby, Dr. C. P. Neill, Mr. W. H. Kelly and Mr. J. D. Rockhill. The regulations now in force provide that two of the members of this board shall be appointed from among the Faculty, and that two shall be elected by the students from their own body.

The Gaelic Department.—During the past vacation permanent quarters were provided for the Gaelic Department, in McMahon Hall. They are located on the second floor, southwest, in close proximity to the other departments of language and literature. By a judicious division of the space, ample room is secured for library, lecture hall and private study. It is the aim of the University to equip this department with manuscripts, critical editions of classical texts and other publications which are indispensable for a thorough study of the Gaelic tongue. All who are interested in the revival and development of Keltic studies can take a practical share in the movement by contributing to the library books and other helps to teaching, which will be properly cared for in this department.

THE SCHOOL OF LAW.

The Law Schools of the University have opened with every prospect of a prosperous year. In the Junior Class of the Professional School there are already twelve students, nine of whom are college graduates; the others have satisfied the Rector that as teachers, or in other pursuits, they have acquired an adequate preparatory education. All of the preceding Junior Class have returned to take the work of the Middle year Four of the Middlemen of the past year are present in the Senior Class In addition to their law studies the Seniors and Middlemen are occupied two hours a week in Economics, two hours in Sociology, and two in Philosophy. In the University School four students are present pursuing courses for the higher law degrees.

The addition to the Faculty of Dr. Brainard Avery, one of our own Alumni, as Special Lecturer on Corporations, Constitutional Law, and the Equity Doctrines applicable to Real Property, enables the Schools of Law to offer peculiar facilities for the investigation of those subjects. The appointment of Judge Charles H. Goddard, A. B., LL. D., formerly of South Dakota, as Instructor in General Common Law and Institutional History, partially fills the vacancies created by the resignations of Mr. McDonald and Prof. Clark at the end of last year.

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